



HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES

UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

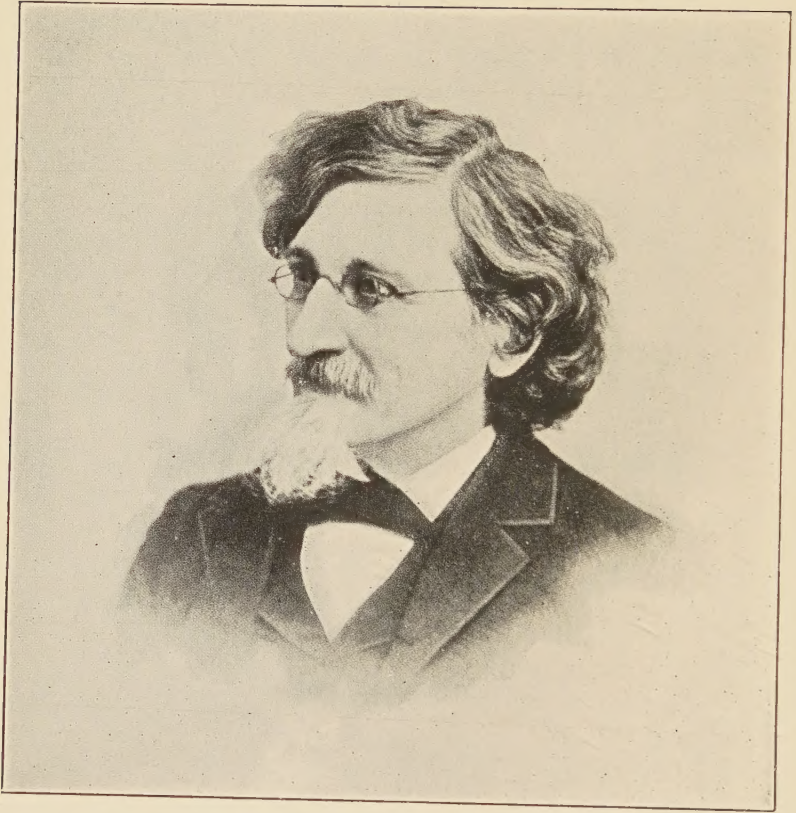
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HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES

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JOHN GILMARY SHEA

UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES

THOMAS F. MEEHAN, PERCY J. KING

HENRY RIDDER

Editing Committee

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PREFACE

Several short biographical notices of the scholar, upon whom the present generation has bestowed the unique title, Father of American Catholic History, have appeared since the death of John Gilmary Shea on February 22, 1892. Among these are: a sketch written by his daughter at the time of the Georgetown College Centenary (1889) for a Catholic weekly, the *Century*, then published in Washington, D. C.; one written for the *Ave Maria* by the late Maurice Francis Egan in 1892; another by Shea's friend, Marc F. Vallette, which appeared in the *Catholic World* in 1892; one published by Richard F. Clarke in the *Catholic Family Almanac* of 1893; and a biographical notice appended to the new edition of Le Clercq's *Establishment of the Faith* (1901).

The only adequate account of John Gilmary Shea's life and works is the tribute paid by Dr. James J. Walsh which appeared in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review* for April, 1913. This is based upon Dr. Walsh's speech at the unveiling of the Shea Memorial Tablet at the Newark Cathedral, October 12, 1912.

Thirty-four years have passed since John Gilmary Shea finished his labors in the field of Catholic historical scholarship. During that time his place in the history of American Catholicism has grown in importance with all who realize how much we depend upon his researches for our knowledge of the past.

He was above all a man of devotion to the Catholic Faith. He stood out among the men of erudition of his time. He was a model husband, a loving father, and a constant companion to his children.

Some time ago, through the gracious kindness of his only surviving daughter, Dr. Shea's personal correspondence and private papers were placed in my care in order to ensure their preservation. I need not say with what reverence I have read these intimate glimpses into his life and labors and especially into his sorrows.

The sketch given in these pages is hardly a biography; in fact a biography of Dr. Shea would be difficult. His was a life al-

most of the cloister. For years he was editor of three magazines in which his name never appeared; and although during the later years of his life, another editorial position brought him before the Catholic public, he never mingled in the affairs of men to such an extent as to have a lasting influence upon them. Quiet, shy, retiring, unobtrusive, with a degree of humility rare for one who had been so successful in his chosen field, his was a life with the past rather than with the present.

The bibliography of Shea's works in the appendix is based upon the catalogue published by the Rev. Edward P. Spillane, S.J., in the *Historical Records and Studies*.

All who have written in the field of American Catholic history since Shea's death have been proud to admit their dependence upon his scholarly studies. It is to the nascent school of young Catholic historians in the United States that these pages are offered as a means of inspiration and as a tribute to a master.

PETER GUILDAY.

December 8, 1925.

CATHOLIC HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES

JOHN GILMARY SHEA

CHAPTER I

BOYHOOD

(1824—1838)

In a *Pastoral Address* to the congregation at St. Patrick's Cathedral, dated February 20, 1838, and signed by Bishop Dubois, of New York, the causes of the conflict between ecclesiastical authority and the trustees are sternly reviewed and the thorny question of jurisdiction over the temporalities of the diocese is challenged to a final issue. This remarkable document is wrongly dated. It was written by John Hughes, who had been consecrated coadjutor-Bishop of New York on January 7, 1838. The date, then, is probably February 20, 1839.

Shortly after the consecration of his coadjutor, Bishop Dubois transferred to Bishop Hughes the administration of the temporal affairs of the diocese, reserving all spiritual jurisdiction to himself. In January 21, 1838, Bishop Dubois solemnly dedicated St. Paul's Church, Brooklyn, the site of which was the gift of Cornelius Heeney. A few days afterwards, Bishop Dubois was stricken with paralysis. Two other attacks followed within the next four months, and it was evident to everyone, except to the venerable bishop himself, that the temporary peace occasioned by the consecration of his coadjutor would be seriously threatened if he were to insist upon ruling the diocese in his impaired condition.

The situation was an unfortunate one. During the first year of his coadjutorship, Bishop Hughes refrained from taking a stand against the misrule which had hindered spiritual progress

in the diocese for over a decade, lest Dr. Dubois, who was then seventy-five years old, should regard it as an invasion of his episcopal rights. Another factor was present in the confused situation at the Cathedral. The pastor of the Cathedral, Father Thomas Levins, had attacked Father Hughes in the *Truth Teller*, over the signature "Fergus McAlpin," and the bitter personal controversy which followed, was not forgotten when Dr. Hughes came to New York, as coadjutor-Bishop, eight years later.

Father Levins had been pastor of the Cathedral since the days of Bishop Connolly. During the earlier years of Bishop Dubois' episcopate, Father Levins' brusque and irascible temperament brought him into conflict with his superior. Though the difficulty between Bishop Dubois and the pastor of the Cathedral was not a very serious one, the question of obedience to lawful jurisdiction was involved. In 1834, Father Levins disrespectfully refused to obey Bishop Dubois and suspension followed. The trustees took up the cause of the suspended priest and five years later they openly rebelled against the authority of both bishops. On February 10, 1839, by order of the trustees, a constable expelled a teacher in the Cathedral Sunday school, who had been appointed by Dr. Dubois.

It was at this juncture that the *Pastoral* was issued. That a change had at last come in the history of the trustee system was evident to all who heard Bishop Hughes read the *Pastoral* on Sunday, February 24, 1839. The conflict was not over the rejection of young Leopold De Grandval, the teacher, who as a friend of Dr. Dubois was obnoxious to the trustees; it was over trusteeism itself. In language so clear and so forcible that there could be no misunderstanding his meaning, Bishop Hughes stigmatized the conduct of the trustees as insubordination to Church law. The law of the State gave to the trustees control over the church and the revenues; but no power could give laymen jurisdiction over the clergy and the Sacraments. They were told that they might do as they pleased with the building; but that, unless they acted in perfect conformity with the canon law of the Church, the priests would be withdrawn and the Cathedral laid under interdict. Whatever power the trustees possessed by the law of the State had been given them in order to aid religion, not to hinder it.

There is one passage towards the end of this document which has a particular interest for us. The *Pastoral* marks the initial stage of the end of the trustee system in the Diocese of New York. "Do not suppose," Bishop Hughes wrote, "that the Church of God, because she has no civil support for her laws and discipline, is therefore obliged to see them trampled on by her own children, without any means for their preservation. She has means; and it is necessary that her discipline be restored, and the abuses on the part of your trustees, to which we have alluded, be disavowed and removed."

To this hint of one fearsome sanction, the interdict, Bishop Hughes added another: that of excommunication. He warned the congregation that this weapon would be used against any member of the Board of Trustees who should hinder the vindication of the laws and discipline of the Church. "Are you satisfied," he says, "with the constitution, doctrine, and authority of the Catholic Church, as she has descended to us from Jesus Christ? Is it your wish that there shall be no innovations, no amendments derived from civil charters and secular laws? If so, meet in the vestry this afternoon, to record your support of the principles of your religion in their entire integrity. If any one is offended at your doing so, he need not attend. He is not a Catholic, or if he be, *he is not worthy to transmit to his children that faith* for which his forefathers gloriously encountered poverty and persecution in the land where the Church was loved, and the Faith preserved at the sacrifice of all besides. For him the house of God has no comeliness. For his eye, the tabernacles of Jacob and the tents of Israel have no beauty. The integrity and miraculous unity of the Church spread over all the earth, and yet realizing the figure of one sheepfold and one shepherd, even this idea can excite no rapture in his breast. Let him go:--*he is the last of a faithful line, but that Faith of his ancestors shall die with him, and his family shall furnish no heir to the inheritance of spiritual life.* But is there such a one among *you*, dearly beloved brethren?"

To none among those present was this dire prophecy directed more particularly than to a leader of the trustees of the day, James Shea, the father of John Gilmary Shea.

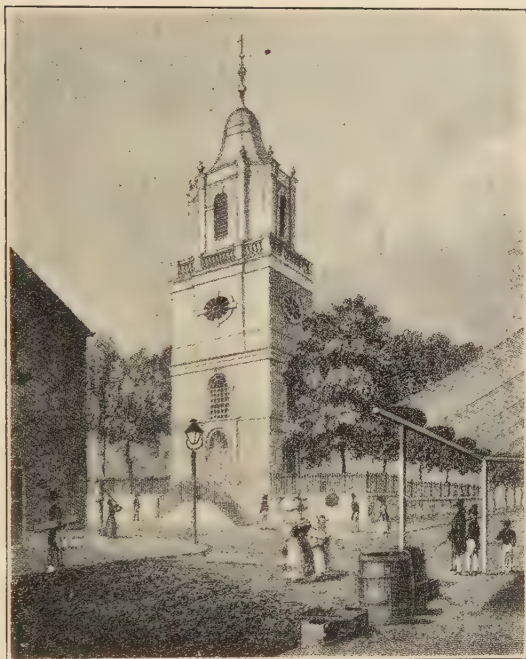
Young Shea's boyhood was passed in the midst of the acri-

monious disputes between Bishop Dubois and the trustees, and there is a pathetic note written in his own hand on the last page of the pastoral many years later, when James Shea's son was acknowledged as the historian of the Catholic Church in the United States: "I hope I have repaired any scandal he gave and have shown myself zealously obedient in matters of faith and discipline."

James Shea belonged to an interesting group of Irishmen who had established themselves in New York during the closing years of the eighteenth century and the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Leaders at the time among these cultured laymen were Andrew Morris, Francis Cooper, Cornelius Heeney, John George Gottsberger, William James Macneven, Charles O'Connor, Bernard Dornin, John Doyle, Matthew Field, Dominick Lynch, Jr., George Pardow, William Denman, Thomas Brady, Patrick Sarsfield Casserly, and many others, to whom the building up of the Church in New York in these early days was mainly due.

James Shea was the son of Patrick and Mary (Real) Shea, of Pallas Green, Ireland, where he was born in 1790. His parents were in comfortable circumstances and he received an excellent classical education. At the age of twenty-five he came to the United States with the intention of studying medicine and then of settling here permanently. The captain of the vessel on which he sailed had treated his passengers so harshly during the six weeks' voyage that he feared to land them at New York, lest their Irish compatriots might demand redress. Accordingly, he ran his ship up the Shrewsbury River and ordered the passengers off at a secluded spot near the Jersey coast.

James Shea arrived here with letters of introduction to prominent Irishmen and with sufficient funds to make a start towards his chosen profession. Walking up the country road that pleasant morning in May, 1815, he saw a farmer ploughing in a nearby field and stopped to ask for information how to reach New York. The dinner gong sounded while they were talking, and the farmer who was General John A. Schuyler, a soldier of the Revolutionary War, invited the young Irishman to dine with him. At the table, another guest, a Protestant minister, began an attack on the Church, and Shea answered his objections so



ST. PETER'S CHURCH, BARCLAY STREET, NEW YORK

cleverly and with so much good humor that General Schuyler took a fancy to him and offered him a place in the family circle as tutor to his sons and nephew.

Shea accepted, remaining with the Schuylers for several years. He then came to New York where he became a partner in the school of Eber Wheaton. By strict economy he had saved his original funds and had added to them from his pension as private tutor to the Schuylers. He had determined to earn sufficient for his daily needs by teaching and to expend his savings on the studies preparatory to a medical degree. Wheaton's school failed, and in the failure James Shea lost all his money. The next few years were spent in organizing a school of his own.

In 1820, James Shea married Mary Ann Flannigan, who was born in New York City, July 15, 1800. She was the daughter of Owen Flannigan and Ann McCurtin, and the granddaughter of Thomas and Deborah (Cox) McCurtin. Through her grandmother, Mrs. James Shea was a direct descendant of Nicholas Upsall, who came out to Massachusetts with Governor Winthrop in 1630, and whose genial figure is described in Longfellow's *New England Tragedies*. Thomas McCurtin, of Carrignavan, Ireland, emigrated to America in 1760, and settled in Mt. Holly, New Jersey, where he opened a school in 1762. Like so many of his countrymen, Thomas McCurtin received a thorough education in the classics and in the mathematical sciences. Deborah Cox, his wife, had been a student at the Ursuline Academy in New York City and was a devoted friend of Father Kohlmann, S.J., Bishop Cheverus, and Father Benedict Fenwick, S.J. One of Cheverus' gifts to her as a young girl was an *Ecce Homo*, said to be by Albrecht Dürer, now in the possession of Georgetown University. Mrs. McCurtin, from early youth, was devoted to the study of the Bible.

Their daughter, Ann, was born in Mt. Holly, in the year 1776. Mrs. McCurtin instilled a great love of the Holy Scriptures in her daughter's heart, and Ann McCurtin bequeathed this gift to her grandson, John Gilmary Shea, who was destined to revive interest in biblical studies among American Catholics. The McCurtins moved from Mt. Holly to Philadelphia after the War of Independence, in order to enjoy the advantages of their Faith, and both husband and wife were carried off in the epidemic of

my own land and much of the glories of yours. I wished to be an American. At the age of nine, a friend of the family gave me an American coin bearing the date of my birth. I cherished it until I arrived at the age of twenty-five, when I emigrated to your shores, and need I tell you that this little coin reminds me of my patriotic duty? In New Jersey I first landed, and here I first met my earliest and best American friend, the later General John A. Schuyler, the liberal, the generous friend of the exile."

The United States about this time (1829) was entering one of the most distinctively American periods in its political history. A new democracy was awake in the country. The westward movement, with its inevitable reaction upon life in the East, was in full swing. The building of the canals and the construction of the highways were levelling old barriers between distant parts of the land. Industrial conditions were undergoing changes that amounted in those days to a revolution. Manufacturing was enjoying a new impetus in the protection the tariff laws afforded; and in practically every aspect of life, the new era which set in with Andrew Jackson's accession to the presidency made itself felt in almost every avenue of human endeavor and achievement, political and intellectual. To the same causes which had produced these new influences and conditions must also be attributed the rise of a truly American literature and also a growing interest in the study of American history.

James Shea imparted to his two sons the finer aspects of the new democracy. They were being reared in a household where the love of American history dwelt side-by-side with a profound knowledge of the faith and the history of the Catholic Church.

John Dawson, the younger of the two boys, took naturally to study. Frail in body and delicate of health, his boyhood was not marked with the gradual initiation into the games and sports then prevalent. Rather he took to reading and to the study of nature. Birds and flowers attracted him especially. Once in jest, his father called him "Mary," on the score that he was more like a girl than a boy. The facetious word of a loving father was not forgotten; and twenty years later, upon entering the Society of Jesus, John dropped his middle name, Dawson, and substituted, Gilmary, or Mary's servant, in its stead.

John Dawson Shea received his elementary education in the little academy, in Mulberry Street, near the Cathedral, which the Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg had opened in 1830. Here he prepared himself for the grammar school connected with Columbia College, where his father was a teacher. In 1833, he passed the entrance examination with success, graduating with honors in 1837, and thus matriculating for Columbia College. But instead of continuing his studies, he entered the counting-house of Señor Don Tomas, a Spanish merchant in the city. It was his duty to meet the ships coming from Spanish ports to New York, to take care of the ship's papers and to assist the Spanish sailors in their purchases. With his unusual aptitude for languages, he quickly acquired a fluent knowledge of Spanish. During the next six years he lost no opportunity for study, his chief interests being botany and history. There is still among his papers, a notebook, entitled "John Dawson Shea's Herbarium for the years 1838, 1839 and, 1840," filled with well-preserved specimens of the rarer flowers that grew in and about New York, and with boyish fancy he has described one of them as a "natural curiosity"—a rose with the bud of another coming out of it, which he found on July 4, 1838. Like most boys who take a lively interest in things that grow, his searches were not confined to flowers, but to all sorts of mineral specimens; and at home his "museum" was soon cluttered up with a variety of finds more precious in his eyes than anything he possessed. It was at this time that he began his valuable collection of coins. Among his papers is a catalogue of the unique coins and medals he sent shortly before his death to the College of Mount Saint Vincent, New York.

To this year (1838) also must be credited his first published essay in the field he was to make so thoroughly his life-work. The *Children's Catholic Magazine*, which had been founded that year, was placed under the versatile direction of Father Felix Varela, who inaugurated a yearly prize, a "handsome gold medal" for "the best original literary article in prose or verse" by any competitor not over the age of eighteen. Young Shea decided to try for the prize and offered an essay on *Cardinal Alborno*s. He did not win the medal, which went to Matthew Horan, of Albany, for his article *A Walk: or a Juvenile Defense of the Catholic*



John Power D.D.

REV. DR. JOHN POWER, PASTOR OF ST. PETER'S CHURCH, WHO BAPTIZED
JOHN DAWSON SHEA

Religion. Father Varela was so pleased with Shea's essay that he published it in the *Magazine*.

Another eye saw the sign of genius in Shea's paper, that of Bishop John Hughes; and it is significant that at the very time he was preparing to bring the trustee issue to an end, he should praise James Shea's son in the columns of the *Freeman's Journal*.

CHAPTER II

LIFE'S VOCATION

(1838-1852)

This encouragement marks a turning point in young Shea's life. During the next few years Shea lost both his father and his mother. Mrs. James Shea died on December 19, 1841, and two years later (December 1, 1843), his father passed away. The two sons were thus left alone in the world. Charles Edward, the elder, was then a member of the bar. About this time John reached his twentieth year; his health had improved so much that he also decided to study law. After two years in a lawyer's office, he stood the examination for entrance into the New York Bar, and was admitted on May 15, 1846. His diploma as solicitor in the State was granted on June 2, 1846.

What his legal practice was for the next two years we do not know, but there is evidence that he had been busily engaged in reading the sources for the colonial history of the Church in this country. The first-fruits of these researches, entitled *Our Martyrs*, appeared in the *United States Catholic Magazine* in 1846-1847, then edited by Rev. Dr. Charles I. White and Rev. Dr. Martin J. Spalding, later Archbishop of Baltimore. These articles, nine in number, attracted attention, and many readers began asking about "J. D. S.," as they were signed. It is probable that Shea contemplated a complete American martyrology. There is a series of articles in the *Ave Maria* (1896-1899), entitled *Martyr Memories of America*, from an unpublished manuscript of Shea's papers. In the volume of the *Magazine* for 1848, Shea published other articles or "notices" on Father Gabriel de la Rebourde, O. F. M., Fathers Du Poisson, Souel, and Senat, S. J., based on sources scarcely known to the Catholic literature of the day.

On March 3, 1846, Shea was elected, upon the nomination of Frederic de Peyster, a resident member of the New York Historical Society, and through association with its members he

quickly became known to scholars as one exceptionally familiar with the source-materials for early American history.

The two decades 1830-1850 were remarkable ones in the history of American history writing. Thoughtful scholars whose interest had been aroused by the volumes published by Jared Sparks, Peter Force, George Bancroft, and other writers whom John Spencer Bassett has placed in the middle group of our historians, began to realize that the only true history of our country was that based upon authentic documentary material. Jared Sparks, who had accepted the newly established McLean Chair of History at Harvard in 1838, had considerable influence upon Shea through his published works. It was to Jared Sparks, then president of Harvard University (1849-1853), that John Gilmary Shea dedicated his first historical work: *The Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley* (New York, 1852).

A second turning-point in Shea's life occurred in 1848, when, as the result of a retreat conducted by Father Michael Driscoll, S. J., then of St. John's College, Fordham, the young lawyer decided to ask admission into the Society of Jesus. Fordham had been made the novitiate in 1847, and Shea entered there in July, 1848, signing himself with the name he used ever afterwards, John Gilmary. Father Augustus Thébaud, S. J., was then president of Fordham, and in residence was a galaxy of brilliant and devoted teachers, among whom were Fathers Daubresse, Duranquet, Ryan, Driscoll, Pottgeiser, and Schiansky. In the faculty were also Fathers Nash, Ouellet, and Tissot, who were to gain fame as chaplains in the Civil War. In his *History of St. John's College, Fordham*, Taaffe says that Shea was a member of the College faculty in 1848-1849.

In 1850, the novitiate was removed from Fordham to the newly erected St. Mary's College, Montreal, and it is here we find John Gilmary Shea for the next two years. While at Fordham, Shea began his researches for his history of the missions, and during the two years at Montreal, he became the protégé of Father Felix Martin, S. J., the first president of the College, and the acknowledged leader among the Catholic historians of Canada.

Father Martin was born at Auray, in Brittany, on October 4, 1804, and entered the Society of Jesus, in Paris, in 1823. In

1842, he was sent by his superiors to Montreal and in 1850 became president of St. Mary's, which he founded. A decade later (1861) he returned to France, and died in Paris, on November 25, 1892. To Father Martin is due the accumulation of the rich store of documentary material for the study of New France, which he housed in the archives of the College, and it is largely from these materials that John Gilmary Shea was later to draw the precious sources he published in his *Cramoisy Series* from 1857 to 1887. One of Shea's best works is his translation of Father Martin's *Life of Father Jogues*, published in New York in 1885.

To Father Martin's profound influence upon Shea, that of another truly great scholar must be chronicled at this stage of his scholastic development, Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, the historian of the State of New York. O'Callaghan was older than Father Martin, having been born in Ireland in 1797. No more patient, careful, and judicious investigator of documents has ever delved into American colonial history. Two of O'Callaghan's brothers became priests and were distinguished for their learning. After finishing his studies in Ireland, Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan went to Paris to study medicine. In 1823, he came to Canada, and after finishing his professional studies in Quebec, was admitted to practice in 1827. Later he moved to Montreal, practicing medicine there until the suppression of Papineau's revolt, in which he was seriously involved, led him to seek safety in the United States. Dr. O'Callaghan took up his residence in Albany and there resumed the practice of his profession. "When the anti-rent troubles were attracting attention," Shea wrote in an obituary after his death, "Dr. O'Callaghan began to study the rights of the Patroons, and acquiring a knowledge of Dutch, examined the early Dutch records in the hands of the State and some ancient families." The result of these studies was the publication in 1846 of his *History of New Netherland*, which revealed to American scholars O'Callaghan's outstanding place among the historians of the time.

Dr. O'Callaghan was one of the first to recognize the historical value of the *Jesuit Relations*, and in 1846 read a paper before the New York Historical Society on the subject. Scholars immediately began to try to consult the *Relations*, when this lecture was published (1847), but no complete set was known here or abroad.

It is not certain when Shea, who was twenty-seven years younger than Dr. O'Callaghan, began writing to him; but in the correspondence that remains, the bulk of the letters between 1850 and 1880 are those from the Albany historian. Perhaps, it would be correct to say that Shea, who was always shy and retiring, formed but one real friendship in his life: that with the O'Callaghans, with whom Dr. Shea and Mrs. Shea and the children often exchanged visits in the next quarter of a century. It is evident from the first of the extant letters, dated Albany, July 16, 1850, that correspondence had passed between the two men for several years previous to this time. O'Callaghan writes:

"Your favor of the 26th ulto., postmarked 'Rochester, July 11,' reached me only this morning; and though I should have been made very happy by hearing from you before, I never received the letter you mentioned as having been sent me last year.

"I was still in the belief that you were at Fordham and was consequently much surprised to find you writing from Montreal. However, I was glad to hear of you and from you, as you possess my sincere respect and esteem.

"As you have seen the first Vol. of our *Documentary Hist.* and take such an interest in these matters, and moreover as you are a Citizen of our State, it is only right that you should have the 2nd Vol. I therefore send it to your address, by the express, and hope it will arrive safe, tho' seeing the Postmark of your letter I fear you will have flitted again before this arrives. You will find in the *Papers Relating to Leisler*, some notices of Jesuits in N. Y. and their school on Long Island.

"I thank you for the Notes you send me from the *Roman Catalogue* and would be much obliged if you would allow me to give the extract of that part of your letter in our 3d Vol. now preparing for publication, which will contain a number of Church papers of Colonial times.

"Where could we get a copy of the *Roman Catalogue* mentioned in your letter? I also want a copy of the list of the Canadian Clergy from the earliest time, which is printed in Canada, and a little work by Bishop St. Vallier, entitled *Etat present de l'Eglise et de la Colonie Française*. I would willingly pay for these if I could have them, but though I have made divers attempts to procure them, I have not yet succeeded.

"Pray do me the favor to speak to somebody for me in this regard. If they should be left at Mr. Fabre's Book Store for me, he would pay what they should cost & forward them to me.

"It would afford me great pleasure to be able to furnish you copy of Dominie Megapolensis' letter to the Classis of Amsterdam, which one of your Fathers desires.

"You know the Revd. Dr. DeWitt of N. York lent me those Papers. After having made such extracts as I required, I returned the originals and they remain in the Doctor's possession. The letter you refer to was not exclusively on Père Jogues.

"I shall be always glad to hear from you and would esteem it a favour if you could obtain for us a copy of some original Doc. which we could publish in our Vol. of the *Documentary History*.

"P. S. Whenever the French Edition of the *Jesuit Relations* appears, perhaps the Author would please let me have a copy. He will find many errors no doubt in my brochure. But you know under what difficulties it was written.

"Pray have you been admitted to Orders? I fear I do not put the proper address on this letter. If I err, excuse me."

Dr. Shea's historical work for the next forty years was to follow closely the lines O'Callaghan had apparently projected for himself. The letters which passed between the two scholars reveal the fact that the older man, who once playfully addressed Shea as "Brevissime Puer," was an inspiration and a model for America's foremost Catholic historian. In other ways, Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan was able to reach Shea's heart as few of his contemporaries did. Many of the letters have intimate reflections upon the Faith which both men possessed, and there is in the midst of the minute and precious historical data which passed between them the proof of a close and child-like dependence upon the Tabernacle for the support of their health, their families, and their historical studies. As Bishop of Albany (1847-1864), Cardinal McCloskey was Dr. O'Callaghan's firm friend and often called upon him for advice in the temporal affairs of the diocese. Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan died in New York on May 29, 1880, and was buried from St. Patrick's Cathedral, the pall-bearers being Thurlow Weed, John Kelly, George H. Moore, E. F. DeLancey, William S. Preston and John Gilmary Shea.

John Gilmary Shea was at this time (1850), as a scholastic at St. Mary's College, Montreal, Father Martin's assistant in preparing the publication of Father Bressani's *Relation*, which appeared in 1852. Dr. O'Callaghan was then occupied with the publication of the *Documentary History of the State of New York*, and Shea was a medium between him and Father Martin. Many of the notes on Catholic missions and missionaries which Dr. O'Callaghan used came to him in this way. A characteristic letter is one dated Albany, March 11, 1851:

My dear and much esteemed Friend,

"Your obliging favor with the notices of the Early English Catholic Missionaries to these parts was duly received, shortly after its date; and now I have to acknowledge my indebtedness for your esteemed letter of the 2d instant.

"I should have acknowledged your first letter but I postponed it in the hope that I might be able to have sent, ere this, our third Vol. to your address, wherein you would see the use I made of your Memoranda. This Vol. has not yet made its appearance from the Printer, so I shall be deprived for some time longer of the pleasure of sending your copy.

"I am highly gratified to learn that you have been so fortunate as to save those very valuable Mss. to which you refer. In regard to Father Bressani's Work, I hope I may be considered a subscriber for a half a dozen copies. The revd. Father Martin says it is to appear in French and English. Am I to understand that the English copies are to be separate from those in French. Pray let me know this & what the publication price of each copy is to be.

"Now in regard to your proposition for the publication of Extracts from Father Jogues' letter containing a description of New Netherland in 1646 with a sketch of the lives of that Father and René Goupil, it is not in my power to give an affirmative answer at present for this reason:—Our publication of another Vol. of the *Doc. History* depends on a vote of the Legislature, which has yet to be passed. Most probably the Legislature will vote it in the course of next month, when I shall be in a position to speak positively.

"Meanwhile if you would have no objection, I would suggest

the propriety of your forwarding me copies of the papers you refer to, that I may submit them to the Secretary of State, under whose supervision the *Documentary History* is prepared. This is a mark of respect due to him. I understand you that they are to be used *as a whole*, and if not used they will be returned to you or to the College as you direct.

"I have to repeat that it is most probable we shall publish a 4th Vol. but we await the order for so doing from the Legislature.

"I read to the Secretary that part of your letter in which you express a wish that your College should obtain a copy of the *Natural History*. This he tells me is within the Jurisdiction of the Regents. If you like, I will make the application for you to Dr. T. Romeyn Beck, Secretary to the Board, on his return to the city from which he is now absent. I do not understand precisely what you mean when you say, 'On the system of M. Vattermare.' His system was exchanging Books for Books. Do you wish it to be understood that the *Natural History* is to be presented to your College in exchange for Books for the State Library? If so, you will have to let me know, and send me a minute of the books you will give in exchange.

"Accompanying this, you will receive a copy of a letter I find here from Père Dablon, Superior of the Jesuit Missions in Canada in 1693. In the *Liste Chronologique* of the Canadian Clergy he is stated (No. 53) as having died 9th Feb. 1680! In the biographical sketch I gave of him, I unfortunately trusted to the authority of this *Liste Chronologique*, and killed the good Priest at least 13 years before his time.

"In the same *Liste* it is stated that Father Simon Lemoine (No. 73) (Jesuit), came to Canada in 1650. Now according to the *Relation* of 1638, p. 75, he was sent in 1638 to the Huron country!

"In like manner, Father Francois Lemer cier is put down as arriving in 1650. He came in 1635. (See No. 74).

"Father Paul Ragueneau (No. 41) is down as arriving in 1638. He arrived 28th June 1636.

"Thus it is with a number of others, so that in the end the *Liste*, though seemingly published by authority, is worse than

useless, for it is the means of leading people astray who confide in it.

"I wish you would be so good as to say to the Revd. Father Martin how much I am obliged to him for the kind trouble he took in investigating the case of that Impostor Williams and his mis-representations. It is a great relief to find that he had no authority for the representation he had made, though when he represented himself as a Clergyman, he almost had shaken the doubt I had first entertained of his statement.

"We are just passing through the Jubilee in this city. This is the last week. During the first week, 1500 of the faithful participated in the Holy Eucharist at St. Mary's (the Bishop's) church, and 2500 at St. John's. The flood of penitents does not seem to be at all diminished. There are two other Catholic Churches here, but the number who have had the benefit of the Holy Father's Indulgence at these, I have no means of ascertaining. I suppose they may be put down at 2000. This however is only one of the two weeks' harvest.

"God has allowed me to be of his flock on this occasion, and I humbly hope with benefit.

"I thank you, dear friend, for your generous recollection of me in your prayers. I hope I may be allowed to think of you at similar times. I am, indeed, much in need of spiritual aid, for in my life I have experienced many buffetings to which I am still necessarily exposed. *Miserere mei, Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam!*

"Always affectionately yours,"

"E. B. O'CALLAGHAN."

The *Documentary History* opened up to scholars in general and to students of special aspects of American history, like Shea, the wondrous vistas of the Catholic missions which had yet to be explored. The names of Jogues, Brefbeuf, Gabriel Lalemant, Chabanel, Daniel, Garnier, René Goupil, and John Lalande—now enrolled since June 21, 1925, in the calendar of the Blessed as the Jesuit Martyrs of North America—and a host of names of other valiant missionaries of the Faith who labored until death that the Name of Christ be made known to the Indians, re-

awakened as they passed across the pages of Dr. O'Callaghan's volumes the long-forgotten memories of these soldiers of the Cross. The fourth volume (1851) of the *Documentary History* continued the *Description of New Netherland* by Blessed Isaac Jogues, from a copy of the original which was presented by Father Martin to the Regents of the University of New York.

A further influence at work in the critical formation of Shea's historical genius was the *History of the United States* by George Bancroft. Bancroft was the *beau ideal* of the patriotic school of historians who dominated the study of American history from 1829 to 1884. He, too, was Shea's senior by twenty-five years, and had received a far broader training than either O'Callaghan or Shea. The first volume of the *History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent*, was published in 1834; the second appeared in 1837; the third in 1840; the fourth and fifth in 1852. These earlier volumes, to use Dr. Jameson's phrase, "voted for Jackson" in their fervid praise of democracy, but they came at a time when the reading of American history was far more popular than it is today, and they captured the public. "The *History* gave Bancroft," Bassett writes, "the undisputed rank of greatest living historian of his country. It made him famous among writers, politicians, and statesmen. No other history written in our country has had the distinction of starting tears in the eyes of an Emerson, opening the doors of high cabinet and diplomatic appointment, and filling its author's pockets with the glittering coin of the republic."

It is probably not generally known that in the earlier editions of his volumes, Bancroft was uniformly fair and generous to the Catholic aspects of American history. But, true to his singular weakness of character, Bancroft yielded to anti-Catholic influences as edition after edition left the press between 1834 and 1883 when the "author's last revision," was published. A comparison between the texts of 1838 and 1883 (Vol. 1, chapter VIII) yields a curious example of the eminent historian's method of weakening or deleting the praise he had given in his original work to Catholic things:



EDMUND BAILEY O'CALLAGHAN

1838

Calvert deserves to be ranked among the most wise and benevolent law-givers of all ages. He was the first in the history of the Christian world to seek for religious security and peace by the practice of justice, and not by the exercise of power; to plan the establishment of popular institutions with the enjoyment of liberty of conscience; to advance the career of civilization by recognizing the rightful equality of all Christian sects. The asylum of Papists was the spot, where in a remote corner of the world, on the banks of rivers which, as yet, had hardly been explored, the mild forbearance of a proprietary adopted religious freedom as the basis of the State.

1883

Sir George Calvert deserves to be ranked among the wisest and most benevolent law-givers for he connected his hopes of the aggrandizement of his family with the establishment of popular institutions; and, being a "Papist," wanted not charity toward Protestants.

This tendency was not visible in the edition Shea was reading, and these volumes stirred his imagination not only with vivid pictures of our colonial history but with the dream of doing something of a similar nature for the Church in the United States.

John Gilmary Shea was not, however, to become an historian of the Bancroft school. His literary ability, like that of O'Callaghan was to be subdued or, at least, to be kept in check by a passionate love of accuracy. Accuracy was not Bancroft's principal gift. He wrote with too much attention to the dramatic effect of his narrative to hesitate over evidence that needed careful establishment before being accepted as historic truth. Basset says of him that the weightiest charge against the *History* is his lack of detachment. He was too strongly partisan by nature to view the

past with objective impartiality. "He crystallized all the hero-worship of the old Fourth of July school into a large work written in a style acceptable to the time." But that he awakened a new love of America's past cannot be denied. Sensitively aware of his great success, he was not conscious that the new school of writers growing up about him was preparing itself to look behind his narrative to the sources upon which it was presumably built. Once the new school was properly manned, Bancroft's leadership was at an end.

In this new school John Gilmary Shea can fairly be given the rank of a dauntless pioneer.

Out of his experience as a boy, as a student of law, as a scholastic in one of the foremost educational societies of modern times, as a student under a born inspirer like Father Felix Martin, S. J., he came to the threshold of his historical career, equipped with all those *instruments de travail* which guaranteed the highest scholarship. This zeal was nurtured by the growing friendship with the scholarly Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan. Shea's enthusiasm had been awakened by the glowing pages of Bancroft. Jared Sparks had pointed the way to a more accurate historical knowledge of the past in his collections of the writings of Washington and Franklin. The field before Shea was virgin; for Catholics could point to no historical account of the progress of their Church in the United States. John Gilmary Shea came to the task better qualified than any writer before or since his day.

He belonged to a Society which would have given him conscientiously every available support for the accomplishment of his great ideal—the history of the Catholic Church in the United States. But one drawback was present, and it could not be lightly overcome—his health. Never robust, though never ailing, his friends realized that only the greatest care would carry him to mature manhood. It was this drawback, in fact, which was to bring in 1852 a third and final turning-point to his future.

The last year of his stay in Canada was filled with preoccupation about his vocation. There is very little in his papers to tell us of the struggle he underwent, although a commonplace book, filled with Latin and French quotations from spiritual writers on the necessity of placing full confidence in God, with here and

there a prayer for light in his difficulty, gives proof that the decision he was to make in 1852 was not easily reached. In the faintest ink, but still visible owing to his perfect penmanship, is a note in this book which reads: "June 5, 1851—Visited the tomb of Catherine Tegakwitha and promised to build a stone cross there if my prayer was granted—my novena ended." This excursion to the burial place of the Lily of the Mohawks, at Caughnawaga, Canada, marks the beginning of the decision he took before the end of that year.

Late in 1851, he asked permission to return to Fordham. There is a letter in the archives of the New York Historical Society, dated January 3, 1852, from Rev. John Gilmary Shea, S. J., addressed to George H. Moore, its Secretary, giving an account of some investigations Shea had made in the history of the Jesuit missions in colonial New England and New York. Another letter (April 6, 1852) in the same archives, shows that on that date he presented to the Historical Society the original map of Father Marquette's discovery and exploration of the Mississippi in the year 1673. These two items are interesting, since it is upon these subjects his first two volumes, published within the next two years, were to be based.

To Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, he wrote from St. Francis Xavier College, New York, on April 29, 1852, "Excuse me, if I have not written before this and write now only a hasty line: but in truth I have been so harrassed and unsettled that for months past and even now I do not know where or what I am. I can hardly give any definite address, yet anything addressed here will reach me. I had hoped to see you ere this, but such has not been the case. When may I hope it? My principal object in writing now is to ask you to send me Fr. Jogues' account of Goupil's death. Let me know too when the 4th vol. will be out as I do not wish the Hist. Society to take the lead of you."

By June, 1852, Shea had made up his mind fully about his vocation for the priesthood, and had decided to leave the Society of Jesus. He announced the fact to Dr. O'Callaghan, who wrote to him from Albany, on June 19, of that year: "The information you communicate has excited my most lively sympathy. But I am encouraged to hope that all will yet turn out well by you giving me to understand that you only pause in order to reflect.

I like the man that runs and rallies: was the observation of Frederick the Great. Others like you, weary of study, nerves unstrung and temper chafed, are apt to bolt for a while. I had a brother who came home from Maynooth, desponding and hopeless, who yet rallied, went to the Irish College at Paris, volunteered for the West Indies Mission to labor among the Blacks and laid down his life at St. Lucia for the honor and glory of God. He who takes up the Cross to follow Him Who died on it, must be prepared to feel the burthen and the heat of the day, and be ready, too, to bear it. May God direct you, my young friend, is my earnest and sincere prayer."

Although he left the Society of Jesus definitely that summer, this was not the last letter he received, addressed to Rev. John Gilmary Shea, S. J. There is a small book among his papers, containing hundreds of envelopes covering the next thirty years, and a goodly portion of them are addressed to "Rev. John Gilmary Shea, S. J." It is curious to find him called Rev. John Gilmary Shea in a Source Book for American Church History, published as late as 1921. In fact forty-seven years after his departure from Fordham, at the time of his accident in 1889, a leading New York newspaper carried the notice: "Rev. Dr. Shea has a bad fall." Almost up to his death, his foreign correspondents insisted on addressing him as Reverend, and as late as 1886, Catholic priests in various sections of the country, writing to him for information or for copies of his historical works, use the same title.

CHAPTER III

EARLIEST SUCCESSES

(1852-1857)

When John Gilmary Shea made his first appearance in public (December 9, 1852) to read a paper on the *Early Catholic Missions of the United States*, before the Catholic Institute of New York City, little had been accomplished either for the preservation of historical material relating to the Church in this country or for the study of Catholic missionary effort in spreading the Gospel in the New World.

These materials were rapidly perishing. Much had been wantonly, or ignorantly, destroyed, and Shea realized that only by awakening the consciousness of the entire Catholic public in the United States could the hand of the destroyers, Catholic and non-Catholic, be stopped. For forty years (1852-1892) he made this the object of his life's work.

In one of his editorials in the *Catholic News* (June 5, 1891), he wrote:

"Every year in the houses and institutions of Catholics more historical material is destroyed than five historical societies will hereafter be able to collect in twenty years. For the early Spanish and French period and part of the country much was printed, but the great archives of New Mexico have been wantonly destroyed in our time by Federal officials, ignorant or venal interlopers from abroad, who knew nothing and cared nothing for the early history of the Catholic territory. In our time much of the archives of the California missions has been scattered, and fragments are used by our enemies to make the Catholic Church and its work ridiculous in the eyes of the public. The records of our oldest churches are neglected, and are gradually disappearing. Even our printed material is difficult to reach. There is scarcely one perfect set of the *Catholic Directories*. We have never seen a perfect set of any of the older Catholic newspapers. The collection of the earliest Catholic books printed in this country which the Rev. J. M. Finotti formed at great expense

and labor was scattered to the winds, no Catholic making an effort to preserve it intact. Letters of early Catholic missionaries or of Catholic laymen who were zealous for the faith are constantly destroyed.

"Here is work for Catholic Historical Societies, and an immense work requiring patience, faith, perseverance and a spirit of sacrifice. It behooves us to act or to be disgraced. Those who come after us will not spare us in their just and sweeping condemnation if the present apathy continues. Non-Catholic institutions and libraries are waking up to the importance of collecting the once despised Catholic material. When in an auction room a rare Catholic book or pamphlet turns up, the Catholic who wishes to buy finds that his competitors are not Catholics or very rarely so."

To bring home to his Catholic fellow-citizens first of all, and then to their non-Catholic neighbors, the claims of the Church in the discovery, the civilization, and the building of the nation, he labored day and night in the midst of difficulties that might have stemmed the enthusiasm of any one except a genius like himself.

Years afterwards, at the close of his life he wrote (April 20, 1891) to Monsignor Loughlin, of Philadelphia, that he had discovered a host of facts relating to the negligence of those in authority towards the archival sources for American Catholic history. "Not only has little been done," he wrote, "but some of that little has been destroyed. A Father Ulrich, one of the early Benedictines of St. Vincent's Abbey, kept a diary for many years, so that the volumes formed a pile several feet high, recording every event in the community and in the Church in that part of western Pennsylvania. They were all destroyed by order of Abbot Wimmer. Bishop de St. Palais ordered all the papers of the Vincennes diocese, gathered, bound and indexed by his predecessor, to be destroyed. These were cases of deliberate destruction, while of those resulting from ignorance and indifference it would be impossible to make a record. The Archbishop of New York has really no archives; no papers of Bishops Connolly or Dubois; Archbishops Hughes and McCloskey. The relatives of Archbishop Hughes, I find, destroyed all his letters. The papers of the Reverend John Power, V. G., and twice Administrator of New York, were placed in a religious house

for preservation. In time they were in the way and were destroyed. It is greatly to be regretted that priests do not write, at least, the edifying and interesting events in their ministry. There are few priests who could not relate many, but alas they are seldom recorded. Unless you object I shall use your letter in an article and thus hope to draw attention to the matter. *We may influence some one in authority.*"

Almost on the threshold of the grave, a fortnight before his death in 1892, he felt obliged to publish a stern challenge to Catholics not to stand aside in that centenary year of the discovery of America and to allow those not of the Faith to assume all the glory of America's past. In a passage that should be known to every American Catholic boy and girl in our schools, he says: "Who discovered and colonized Greenland and had cathedral church and convent there? Catholics. If Vinland was really part of this country, who discovered and visited it. Lief Ericson, a Catholic, with his Catholic Northmen, followed by Catholic bishops and priests. As to Christopher Columbus and his Catholicity there is no question. Who explored the Atlantic and Gulf Coast of the United States? Catholic Navigators: John and Sebastian Cabot; John Ponce de Leon; Pineda, first to see the Mississippi and name it the River of the Holy Ghost; Miruelo; Verrazzano; Gomez; Cordillo; and Ayllon—all Catholics. Who explored the Mississippi from its northern waters to the Gulf of Mexico? The Catholic Franciscan, Hennepin, and Du Lhut, a Catholic; Joliet, a Catholic; Father Marquette, a Jesuit; LaSalle and his Franciscan chaplains, Catholics; DeSoto, Tristan de Luna, and other Spanish explorers, all Catholics. Who discovered and named the St. Lawrence? Cartier, a Catholic. Who made it known to the Upper Lake? Champlain, a Catholic, the first to map its course. The *Jesuit Relations* first gave the maps of Lake Ontario and Lake Superior. The Sulpitian Dollier de Casson drew the first map of Lake Erie. Fathers Jogues and Raymbaut planted the cross at Sault Ste. Marie. A Jesuit discovered the salt springs of Onondaga; a Franciscan, the oil springs near Lake Erie; Catholic Missionaries first described Niagara. The Catholic De la Verendrye first reached the Rocky Mountains; Menendez, a Catholic, and Oñate, a Catholic, founded our two oldest cities, Saint Augustine and

Santa Fé, which in their very names tell of their Catholic origin. Who first studied the languages of our Indian tribes and reduced them to grammatical forms so as to use them in bringing the heathen natives to a knowledge of God and Christ the Redeemer? Catholic missionaries. Rale, in Maine; Bruyas, Garnier and other Jesuits, in New York; White, in Maryland; Paraja, in Florida; Le Boulenger, in Illinois; Arroyo de la Guesta and other Franciscans, in California; Serra, Garcia and their companions, in Texas; and at a late day, Baraga, Marcoux, Becourt, Mengarini, Gailland, Vetromile, Giorda, Palladino. In this anniversary year who can wipe these glorious names from the obelisk of fame"?

If John Gilmary Shea could write in all justness on the occasion of receiving the first Laetare Medal in 1883, "What I have done is little, terribly little, in comparison to the work that lies untouched," it can be conceded without argument that when he began his historical activities in 1852, practically nothing worthy of the great Church had been written. The Catholic newspapers had, it is true, kept alive in a fitful way an interest in the historical past of their localities. Serious literary reviews—such as the *Metropolitan* which lasted a year (Baltimore, 1830); the *Religious Cabinet*, which also lasted a year (Baltimore, 1842); and the *United States Catholic Magazine*, which was published for six years (Baltimore, 1842-1848) under the skilled editorship of Dr. Charles I. White; and the *Catholic Expositor*, edited by Felix Varela, D. D. and Charles Constantine Pise, D. D., in New York City, from 1841 to 1846, were published monthly and not only gave a literary medium for Catholic scholarship, but incidentally preserved much historical material which otherwise would have been lost. Bernard H. Campbell's *Memoirs of the Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll, first Archbishop of Baltimore*, which appeared in the *United States Catholic Magazine* from 1844 to 1848, was the first noteworthy attempt to gather up the historical fragments that remained, and a comparison between his studies and the little biography of the Father of the American hierarchy, published by Robert Brent in Baltimore in 1843, shows how inadequate the latter volume was. One by one, these monthly periodicals were obliged to cease publication. In offering the seventh volume (1848) of the *United States*

Catholic Magazine to the public, Dr. Charles I. White regretted "to be under the necessity of stating that the patronage extended to the work does not justify him in continuing its publication. It has been issued for some time with a loss to the proprietor, and he cannot consent to make any further sacrifices for the purpose of sustaining it." Orestes A. Brownson had resumed the publication of his *Review* in January, 1844, and after his reception into the Church in October of that year, *Brownson's Quarterly Review* quickly became one of the foremost Catholic apologetical magazines in the English language. But Brownson was essentially a philosopher and theologian, and it was his defence of the Faith in these fields which won him the public approbation of the last of the national Provincial Councils, held in Baltimore in 1849. Historical articles of eminent value were never absent from its pages, but they were of a general nature, sometimes so recondite that they chilled writers who aspired to see their essays appear in so formidable a literary magazine. When the *Metropolitan* was resurrected as a monthly magazine in 1853, it was devoted more "to Religion, Education, Literature and General Information" than to historical subjects; although many valuable papers on American Catholic history were printed in its pages during the six years it existed (1853-1859).

In the second volume of the *Metropolitan* (July, 1854), there is an article by John Gilmary Shea, entitled *Catholic Literature in the United States*. He chronicles the work done in the fields of theology, literature, and history, up to that time. Among the historians of merit, he lists Father Felix Martin, S. J., Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, Father William McSherry, S. J., Dr. Pise, Martin J. Spalding, Dr. Charles I. White, Archbishop Bayley, Bernard U. Campbell, and Xavier D. Macleod.

Before the appearance of Shea's *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, in 1852, the historiographer has very little of value to chronicle in the field of American Catholic history. The *Discovery and Exploration* does not make a dividing line in American Catholic historiography; it is in reality the beginning of activity in this special field of American scholarship. The work won an immediate success. The arrangement of the book was similar to that of O'Callaghan's *Documentary History*. In fact, some of the most valuable material which went

into the *Discovery and Exploration* had been offered by Shea to the State of New York for inclusion in O'Callaghan's volumes, but was not accepted. For a time Dr. Shea was under the impression that O'Callaghan was responsible for the rejection of his manuscripts and the incident caused a temporary rift in their friendship.

On receipt of the *Discovery and Exploration*, O'Callaghan wrote to him (November 18, 1852): "*Quid retribuam tibi, carissime amice, pro libro tuo elegantissimo?* I was looking for it with great desire, having had my appetite whetted by a notice in the *Literary World*. Marquette and LaSalle, and above all, the Great West, owe you very much. And I sincerely trust you will reap a proper reward for your patient and valuable labors." The leading reviews of England and America welcomed Shea's first volume as one of the most noteworthy contributions to American history in recent years. All who perused the volume recognized that here was a scholar who would go far in his chosen vocation. The contents of the book was made up of documents not accessible to scholars, and the critical notes appended to his pages revealed an uncommon knowledge of colonial history. The unusual elegance of the printing and the binding found favor in the eyes of collectors, and the edition was exhausted before the end of the year. The volume was not only one of picturesque interest, but of profound original research; and not the least of the surprises it contained was the original map of the Marquette-Joliet expedition of 1673, in Marquette's own handwriting.

The *Discovery and Exploration* contained the original narrative of Marquette, Membré, Hennepin, and Anasase Douay, together with the *Relation* of Dablon and several unpublished documents relating to La Salle. The *Westminster Review* called it "a most valuable and interesting volume," and the London *Athenaeum* says: "Mr. Shea writes clearly, graphically, and with considerable eloquence." Apart from the critical notes in the volume, Shea's contribution consists of a *Bibliographical Notice of Father Louis Hennepin*, a *History of the Discovery of the Mississippi River*, a *Life of Father Marquette*, and a notice of *Sieur Joliet*.

Shea's renaissance of interest in these narratives met a first caustic rebuff from Dr. Brownson who with his old colonial

prejudice against the French of Canada, ridiculed in his *Review* for October, 1853, the value of these sources for accurate history. "None of them," he wrote, "unless we except Charlevoix, is worthy to be called a history." He then adds a sentence which struck Shea as being deliberately insulting: "None which a Canadian could peruse without blushing for the patience which allowed ignorance or prejudice thus to confound the whole interests of a people with the toils of a poor missionary among the savages or the experience of an attaché of the government."

Dr. Shea answered Brownson in a remarkably eloquent paper published in the *Metropolitan* for March and April, 1855. "For ourselves," Shea writes, "Who have been for years reading the sources of Canadian history and found such sources to be almost exclusively the work of missionaries, we are grieved and pained at such a charge. We cannot conceive how any Canadian could blush to read Bressani's work, the *Relation* of 1649, that of 1644, the narrative of Marquette, or the work of Sagard. On the contrary, we think that the Canadian, or the man, even of the most Rome-hating sect, that can read these without emotion, must be devoid of every noble feeling; and if a Canadian, as destitute of all patriotism as Benedict Arnold. If Dr. Brownson ever read these works, he certainly never could have penned so gross a charge."

Shea's article *Canada and her Historians* is another stage in his advance, for in replying to Brownson's apparent ignorance of the sources, he notes a series of volumes and reprints which American historians needed for colonial history. All of these, even including the great task of giving us the first complete translation of Charlevoix's *History and General Description of New France*, he was able to accomplish before his death.

The *Discovery and Exploration* had an appeal for the scholar and collector. Shea's next volume *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States, 1529-1859*, published by the New York publishing firm he had entered, the Dunigans, brought the story of missionary effort by the Spanish, French, and English priests to every Catholic fireside. Here was a volume which all could read and understand. It was the result of ten years' collection of materials and historical research. The idea of the work grew out of the lecture he had given in

1852 before the Catholic Institute, though the actual incentive came from Jared Sparks, then president of Harvard University.

Shea's labor on this volume must have been enormous, for the sources he quotes and uses make up a creditable library of early Americana. Even Brownson, who was apt to disparage any glory given to the French Catholic missionaries, confessed that the book was "a work of solid merit, entitling the author to an honorable rank among our historical writers."

The *History of the Catholic Missions* was the most valuable volume that had been issued from the American Catholic press up to that time; and edition followed edition in rapid succession until the Civil War. Other writers, especially Bancroft, Sparks, O'Callaghan, Kip and others, had not stinted their praise in dealing with the Catholic missionaries and had given them a merited place in the country's history. But what Shea wished to do was to show that the result of their labors was a permanent one and that to deny them any lasting success was an unfair use of historical criticism. "The great decrease of the Indians," Shea says, "may indeed in part excuse some writers from not knowing the real state of little communities, now hemmed in by the busy whites; and it would excuse them, were it not very evident that they decide the results of the missions, not from observation, but from preconceived ideas of the Catholic Church. One remarkable fact will, at all events, appear in the course of this work, that the tribes evangelized by the French and Spaniards subsist to this day, except where brought in contact with the colonists of England and their allies or descendants; while it is notorious that the tribes in the territory colonized by England, have in many cases entirely disappeared, and perished without ever having had the gospel preached to them. The Abnakis, Caughnawagas, Kaskaskias, Miamis, Ottawas, Chippeways, Arkansas, and the New Mexican tribes remain, and number faithful Christians; but where are the Pequods, Narragansetts, the Mohegans, the Mattowax, the Lenape, the Powatans? They live only in name in the rivers and mountains of our land."

Dr. Shea for the first time gives us a glimpse in the preface of his volume, to his historical spirit. "In writing," he says, "I have endeavored to be just to all men, to avoid all partiality, to take no part in the rivalries which have existed and still exist,

all tending to overshadow the truth, and give theories or party views for a real picture of the historical facts."

There was a charm and an eloquence about the *History of the Catholic Missions* which attracted all who read his dramatic description of what Catholic priests had undergone to plant the seeds of the Faith in the New World. Shea's volume did more than tell the story of that past. It brought out in clear relief the legacy the missionaries of old had bequeathed to the generation of Catholics for whom he was writing; and in more than one place, high and low, his pages awakened the pertinent question: what was the Catholic Church of the United States doing to preserve the Faith among the Catholic Indian tribes which had survived the white man's onward advance towards the West?

Honors of a kind that have an intimate pleasure to the historian began to come to him. We find, from 1855 onwards, the Historical Societies of the country electing him to resident, corresponding and honorary membership. The earliest among these honors came in February 1854, from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The Massachusetts Historical Society and the Maryland Historical Society brought him into their ranks in 1855. There was, indeed, no longer any doubt where John Gilmary Shea stood in the esteem of his co-laborers in American history.

Dr. Shea was at this time thirty years old. Although he had resumed the practice of law in New York after leaving the Society of Jesus in 1852, his tastes lay more in the field of research; and when the success of the *Missions* encouraged him to believe that in history lay his true vocation, he lost no time in planning his future life.

During these two years he was a frequent guest in social circles and he was a familiar figure at meetings where the cause of Irish freedom was discussed. It was at this time he met and courted Miss Sophie Savage. They were married by Rev. Dr. Cummings in the summer of 1854. Miss Savage was the daughter of John and Julia (Barrenger) Savage, and was related to several prominent Puritan families of New England, among them the Penfields and the Brainerds, to the latter of which belonged the well-known Indian missionary, Rev. David Brainerd. The marriage proved to be a very happy one in every respect.

Mrs. Shea was unfailing in her co-operation during the forty years of their life together, and their two daughters, Ida and Emma Isabel, the latter of whom is still living, were trained by her to be competent aids to their father in his numerous and complex activities.

In one of O'Callaghan's letters, dated September 28, 1854, we have an amusing message to Shea after his marriage: "My wife and I received a very suspicious sort of missive from you in the forepart of the summer, indicating that you were about to cast off, and abandon, the single state of blessedness. We deferred acknowledging its receipt until we should have the pleasure to do so in person, on our pilgrimage to the seaside. And when the time came, we were lured Northward, even unto the Saratoga Springs, where we sojourned until the close of the season. We have not, therefore, been your way: we hope to go down before New Year's. If we do, we'll present ourselves in due form. Meanwhile, we try to tender, though late, our sincere felicitations, and hope you wear your chains, like the Greek slave, gracefully. You will anticipate my intentions, I hope, and introduce me, on receipt hereof, proxy-cally, to your *cara sponsa*. Keep my imperfections in the background, and paint me as you wish your friend to be, not as he is. I'll endeavor to come up to your mark, if you only let me know how high it is."

Unlike his first volume, Shea's *History of the Catholic Missions* appealed to Catholics in every part of the country, and soon letters began to come in great numbers to the Shea household asking for information, advice and guidance in the historical studies his work had aroused. Out of this correspondence one fact may be chosen because around it centres a curious and regrettable incident in American Catholic research.

The future Archbishop Bailey, than Secretary to Archbishop Hughes, published in 1853 his valuable little *Sketch of the History of the Catholic Church on the Island of New York*, based upon sources found in B. U. Campbell's articles, in the publications of O'Callaghan, and in a host of manuscripts, many of which had been furnished to him by Dr. Shea. Among the documents in Dr. Bailey's possession at the time were the private letters and papers of Bishop Bruté of Vincennes. Dr. Bruté's life as a priest and bishop in this country (1810-1839) coincided

with some of the most important years in Catholic American history. His life in France (1779-1810) was a remarkable one, and his notes and reminiscences of scenes connected with the French Revolution were unique. It was Bishop Bruté's custom to keep a Note Book into which he entered daily matters of importance, often accompanying them with sketches of events as he saw them. He carried on an extensive correspondence with the leading American Catholic prelates and laymen of the day (1810-1839) and wrote considerably to foreign correspondents. Bishop Bruté seems to have realized the value of his manuscript materials, for there are several outlines and plans from his pen in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives for a *History of the Church in America*.

It is said that he spent the last months of his life in putting all these historical papers into order for his literary executor. These extensive archives were bequeathed to his successor, Bishop de la Hailandière. When the latter resigned the See of Vincennes, and set out for France, he prevailed upon Archbishop Hughes, who had known Simon Gabriel Bruté intimately at Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, to undertake a *Life of Bishop Bruté*. Dr. Hughes accepted the task, and de la Hailandière gave orders to the priest in charge of the Cathedral at Vincennes to forward the entire collection to New York.

Archbishop Hughes found it impossible to secure the leisure necessary for the task, and when Dr. Bayley's *Sketch* appeared, it was hoped that the young priest would take up the long-deferred project of Bruté's *Life*. On several occasions the officials of the Vincennes Diocese had endeavored to have the Bruté Mss. returned to their archives, but without success. A letter from Dr. James A. Causten, of Washington, D. C., to Father Bayley, regarding the papers, brought the following answer, in which it will be seen, the generally accepted tradition that the New York ecclesiastical authorities were responsible for their loss, cannot be sustained. Father Bayley writes (June 9, 1852):

"The Papers of the late B^p Bruté were far from being complete when they came into the Archbishop's hands; they had evidently been examined by some one, who had taken from them many important papers, especially of an historical nature. When they first arrived here, I examined them myself, in the hope of

finding important information upon certain matters, to which I had turned my attention—and discovered nothing worth preserving, though during his whole life he had employed more or less time in making researches connected with the history of the Catholic Religion in this part of the world. As however I did not examine them particularly in reference to the Indian Missions, there may be some documents connected with them, that I may have overlooked—and I will take an early opportunity of looking them over again so that if I discover anything likely to interest you, I will let you know. The Rev. Mr. Shea of the Society of Jesus, has been for some time engaged upon a History of the Jesuit Missions amongst the Indians—and from his peculiar fitness for the task, as well as the valuable documents in his possession, I have no doubt that it will prove a valuable addition to the early history of our country.”

What had happened to the Bruté papers will probably never be known. Father Audran of Vincennes made an attempt to have them sent back, but Bishop Bayley refused to give them up. That Shea was also refused access to the collection is certain from his letter to Father Audran, dated November 20, 1854: “Bishop Bayley told me that he had Bishop Bruté’s letters and papers. I did not however get access to them. Though I hinted my wish very clearly, I forebore to press it as I thought that, though once intended for the Church, my actual lay position would be an obstacle to my rummaging a Bishop’s papers I deemed it careless to allow such a mass of documents to be exposed to perish and wondered at it. The whole may be remedied by a letter from Msgr. de St. Palais to Bishop Bayley, asking the return of the Bruté manuscripts; and once returned, I would urge their being bound in volumes and indexed to be preserved as diocesan archives This will not only facilitate reference but will prevent abstraction.”

The first to profit by Shea’s success as a writer was the firm of Dunigan and Brother with which he was connected. In quick succession Shea edited for this publishing house a *General History of Modern Europe* (1854), a book of 485 pages in duodecimo; and a *First Book of History, combined with Geography and Chronology for younger Classes* (1854, 12 mo., pp. 254). which Brownson noticed favorably in his *Review* (Jan. 1855).

An *Elementary History of the United States* (pp. 157) was written for the Sadliers and published in 1855; and that same year he published a *Catechism of the History of the United States* (pp. 180). The house of Dunigan published (1857) his *School History of the United States from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (pp. 288). These works have not survived as text books, though they were popular in their day. They are to be regarded rather as outward signs of the pressure Dr. Shea experienced during these years in providing for his growing family.

Strange as it may seem, although he was the pioneer in the field, John Gilmary Shea was not to be the first writer to treat the general history of the Catholic Church in the United States.

In 1855, Thomas D'Arcy McGee published at Boston his *Catholic History of North America* in five parts, to which he appended several *Documents illustrative of the Catholic History of America*. McGee's little volume (pp. 239) is written in his best journalistic style and was immensely popular with Catholic readers during the later part of the Know-Nothing movement. The sources used are mainly O'Callaghan's *Documentary History*, Shea's *Discovery and Exploration*, Kip's *Jesuits in America*, Bishop Bayley's *Sketch*, Spalding's *Life of Flaget*, Brent's *Carroll* and the current popular histories of the United States. Shea's *Catholic Missions* was not used. A note on page 63 of McGee's book says: "After the above was written we learned with sincere pleasure that Mr. John Gilmary Shea had a work in the press in which the American missions will be treated of very fully." Nearly fifty pages of the Appendix are devoted to Catherine Tegakwitha. McGee's work must be considered, therefore, as the initial attempt during the first sixty-five years of the organized hierarchy in this country to write a connected history of the Church in the United States.

It is no disparagement to Dr. Shea's greater works to say that his *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes* is the best organized of all his writings. The divisions of the book are natural. Source-references to manuscript material and to books then unknown to the greater part of historical writers abound in the volume; and the whole book has the appearance of a well-conceived plan, thoroughly worked out. It is to be regretted that Dr. Shea did not so plan his next volume

The Catholic Church in the United States: a Sketch of its Ecclesiastical History, which he published in co-authorship with Henry DeCourcy, in 1856.

There are many questions one would like to have answered about this volume. The original edition carried a dedicatory letter in French "A son Excellence Monsieur Cajetan Bedini, Archêvêque de Thebes, Nonce Apostolique, etc.." dated New York, May 3, 1856, and signed by Dr. Shea, although it is written in the first person by DeCourcy. This same edition carried as an appendix some thirty pages of documents relating to Bedini's visit to the United States in 1853-1854.

Upon his appointment as Nuncio to the Court of Brazil in 1853, Archbishop Bedini was instructed to proceed to Washington and to present to President Pierce a friendly letter from the Holy See. He reached New York on June 30, 1853, and after presenting his diplomatic credentials began a tour of the country for the purpose of studying certain conditions which had been brought to the attention of Pius IX. An apostate Italian priest, Gavazzi, began spreading vile calumnies against the Nuncio, and these soon found their way into the public press and aroused fanatical demonstrations in several cities which Bedini visited. In Cincinnati an armed attempt was made by a group of Germans to sack the house in which he was residing. Anti-Catholic German societies in several places threatened the Nuncio's life, and it is deplorable that, at a time when we had a Chargé d'Affaires at the Papal Court in Rome, the Government of the United States took no measures to protect the envoy of the Holy See. Before leaving New York to return to Rome, Archbishop Bedini had engraved in that city copies of the Madonna of Rimini as a gift to his many friends. The inscription bore the words "edified and grateful"—edified by all he had seen of Catholic progress in the United States and grateful for the reception he had everywhere received from the faithful. Archbishop Bedini's conduct was flawless, bordering indeed on the heroic. He went about from city to city as if the demonstrations against him were too negligible to notice, and once he took up his residence in any city, he proceeded to keep all the engagements he had made—dedicating churches, ordaining priests, opening ecclesiastical retreats, presiding at college commencements, visiting hospitals and



MGR. BEDINI'S SOUVENIR OF HIS VISIT

orphanages—with an incomparable dignity which won for him the admiration of non-Catholics everywhere.

Some time after Bedini's departure, Henry de Courcy de la Roche Heron, then a merchant in New York, who spent his leisure time in contributing sketches of the Church here to the *Ami de la Religion*, the *Univers*, and other Catholic periodicals in France, publicly (April 8, 1854) undertook to answer the charges made against the illustrious visitor. After considerable correspondence with authorities in Bologna and Rome, De Courcy succeeded in obtaining all the necessary documents for his purpose. Archbishop Hughes dissuaded him from publishing the documents at the time, owing to the continuance of popular feeling against Bedini through Know-Nothing channels, and De Courcy, who then engaged Dr. Shea's collaboration for his *Essais sur l'Histoire de la Religion Catholique des Etats-Unis*, decided to wait until Dr. Shea had completed the translation of his essays for the volume they both had in mind.

This will explain the following passage from the French preface: "En quittant les Etats-Unis, Votre Excellence nous laissait un pieux souvenir de sa munificence et de sa devotion en se déclarant *edifié et reconnaissant*. C'est bien plutôt aux Catholiques des Etats-Unis de se proclamer *édifiés* de vos vertus et *reconnaissants* de vos bienfaits; et l'hommage que je vous présente, en commun avec le savant écrivain, Mr. John G. Shea, qui s'est complaisamment associé à mon travail, est un faible tribut de est un faible tribut de notre mutuelle gratitude, et de notre complet dévouement au Saint Siège Apostolique."

Dr. Shea aided De Courcy with all the manuscript materials, books and pamphlets he had collected, and consented to prepare a translation of the essays for the American public, owing, as he says, to "the want of any regular history of the Catholic Church in the United States."

After the translation was completed, Dr. Shea went over the whole volume adding paragraphs here and there, supplying references, and in some cases writing new chapters for the book. "From the close friendship which united us," he says, "and from our daily intercourse during the progress of the work, it would be difficult now for me to state what portions are exclusively mine." The truth is that Shea's characteristic modesty prevented

him from claiming the entire work as his own. He had guided the articles in French as they were written by De Courcy, had then translated them into English, and then rewritten the whole from further sources at his disposal.

The *Catholic Church in the United States*, which came practically to be called the De Courcy-Shea *History*, purported to be a general history of the Church in this country. As such it remained but a torso until 1879, when Shea published a revised edition, not only filling in the many gaps of the edition of 1856, but bringing the narrative down to date. The original volume covers but three of the five dioceses created in 1808: Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. Boston is not mentioned; Bardstow and the other dioceses erected between 1808 and 1853 are ignored. The volume which contains almost six hundred pages, did not meet with the same welcome as the *History of the Catholic Missions*. Brownson was especially savage in his criticism of the book, calling it "a series of newspaper articles, if we may so speak, on Church matters in the United States, hastily thrown off and carelessly strung together." And yet, critics sought in vain for serious inaccuracies in the work. When the revised and enlarged edition appeared in 1879, Dr. Shea could write in all justice: "The present work, in its original form, relating mainly to the origin and early progress of the Church in this country, has been for many years the only work affording the reader any general view of the advancement of our holy Faith. It has been referred to as authority on numberless occasions, and its general accuracy admitted by all." Again, in 1892, in the preface to his greatest work, Dr. Shea says that the De Courcy-Shea volume "has been for some thirty years the most comprehensive account accessible of the history of the Church in this country."

Limited as it is in point of time, the DeCourcy-Shea *History* is a veritable treasure-trove for the research student. Not only in the wide range of the sources it mentions, but in the variety of information which cannot be obtained elsewhere, the book is indispensable to all writers in the field. That many of the harsh criticisms in the Catholic press levelled against the volume were unjust can now be admitted. To one of these criticisms,

which appeared in the *Boston Pilot*, Dr. Shea replied in the columns of that paper on March 10, 1860:

"Within the last two months I have noticed two flings at De Courcy's *Catholic Church* in your columns. One spoke of the 'De Courcy blunders,' another says that the *Catholic Almanac* without circularizing each clergyman will be of no more use to the future historian of Catholicity in the U. S. than De Courcy's histories.

"My acquaintance with Mr. De Courcy began with his calling upon me for information, and I then put at his disposal all my collection and the knowledge which several years' attention to the subject afforded me. After he wrote his sketches, I corrected what I found erroneous, and three Bishops, with several clergymen, revised them carefully, and made still more corrections.

"Now there are still errors, there are omissions, important omissions even, that I have since discovered, and can correct. The mass of the book is, however, strictly correct, and to treat it as a book utterly unreliable, is a position that is easily taken, but not so easily justified. I think it most unfair, uncourteous and un-Catholic.

"As I closed in 1859 my fifteen years' labor as a Catholic writer, never again probably to appear in that character, I have no personal interest or feeling in the matter, but I solicit as an act of merest justice, between man and man, that the Catholic historical students of the country, many of whom doubtless have devoted far more talent, means and industry to the reasearch and to the collection of materials than I have, will not content themselves with talking of blunders, but send a full, distinct note of them to some Catholic paper, or, if they deem it more in accordance with Christian charity, to the Translator and Editor of De Courcy's *Catholic Church*, John Gilmary Shea."

Henry De Courcy died in France in 1862, and Dr. Shea was obliged to bear the brunt of the attacks on the book, almost up to the publication of the first volume of his own *History* in 1886. Among the few who never failed to pick flaws in Shea's historical work was Martin I. J. Griffin, of Philadelphia. In answer to one of Griffin's articles on the volume, Dr. Shea wrote as follows (Elizabeth, N. J., March 3, 1883):

"I have read the article you enclosed and must say frankly that I think it extremely dishonest. There is not a particle of proof that De Courcy was a romancer.

"Watson's *Annals* had been in the hands of Catholic and Protestant for years. Its statements about the old Priest, about Brown and Miss McGawley had been accepted by Catholics; no one controverted or corrected them. Bernard U. Campbell, Charles I. White and Bp. O'Connor repeated them on his authority, and so did Mr. De Courcy. Does that make him responsible alone, and him the author of what Watson wrote?

"The one who corrected Watson and really led to some investigation was Thompson Westcott and you do not mention him at all. It was easy to go to the records that gentleman pointed out, but when De Courcy wrote no local historian, Catholic or Protestant, had done anything to correct Watson.

"You refer to Lambing. When his work was nearly printed Mr. Cannon of the house of Benziger Bros. told me of its plan, and I said that I hoped he was not going to repeat all those statements which had been shown to be incorrect. He wrote to Rev. Mr. Lambing who then went to considerable expense and trouble to get the papers of Mr. Westcott. That he has corrected the old story of Watson is due to my suggestion.

"Now after Westcott printed his correction of Watson, it was easy for Father Jordan, J. Carroll McCaffrey, to say that De Courcy was wrong; but it is dishonest and grossly dishonest to say not a word about Watson, and to ignore Westcott; to make De Courcy responsible for Watson, and to give others the credit due Westcott.

"The date of Westcott's contribution we know; but what investigations Father Jordan made or when, you do not distinctly state, nor do you give the date of Mr. McCaffrey's. If it is made a point that these gentlemen discovered all this before Mr. Westcott, I should like to see distinct and definite proof of it. When he was writing we were in constant correspondence, and I am certain that he will attest that he had no Catholic guide in his researches that exploded Watson's story.

"The book was Mr. De Courcy's and when I added to it a few years ago, I did not rewrite the book or correct everything I knew or felt assured was erroneous. Men like O'Kane Murray

had plundered and abused it; I did not purpose to give them new and fresh matter for their nefarious work.

"Where is the distinct proof that Washington and Lafayette never attended a service at St. Joseph's? You say he is merely repeating an error. Where is the proof that it is an error? Copying an error would not make him a romancer, but prove that he was in error.

"Father Jordan is very sweeping in his statement as to De Courcy's dates. They number several hundred. How many has he found erroneous? Are there enough to justify the charge that he is very inaccurate.

"I am very sorry you sent me the slip. It does not impress me favorably.

"Catholic scholars of your city have not so far as I can learn added enough facts as to Catholicity in Philadelphia prior to the Revolution to make a pamphlet of a dozen pages. Yet information must exist if time and pains were taken to unearth them. Miss Elizabeth McGawley's name eluded Mr. Westcott I admit, but she may be no myth. There were priests in Philadelphia before Father Greatedon founded the Jesuit mission, but their aliases are unknown to some people.

"I think your antiquarians would do well to bring forward some hitherto unpublished facts, and use some that have been published, instead of assailing the character of Mr. De Courcy.

"Let them bring together as much new matter as he did, and we may pardon them if they occasionally fall into errors."

Griffin took exception also to some of the historical facts the volume gave regarding the early history of the Church in Philadelphia and in reply, Dr. Shea sent to him a page from the *Catholic Herald* for November 10, 1840, containing the report of Dr. Michael O'Connor, then the President of St. Charles Seminary, where all these facts were given. "This was Mr. De Courcy's main authority," Shea wrote, "and to abuse him is to abuse Bishop O'Connor."

The reference to O'Kane Murray in the letter cited above belongs also to the *De Courcy-Shea History*. John O'Kane Murray came with his parents to New York from Ireland as a boy of nine in 1856. After graduating from St. John's College,

Fordham, he studied medicine in the University of the City of New York, and practiced his profession until 1880, when he was stricken with tuberculosis. He then went to Chicago, where he died in 1885. He was a popular contributor to the Catholic periodical press and had already published several volumes in the field of American Catholic history, when the publishing house of the Sadliers suggested that he prepare a *Popular History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (pp. 647), for the approaching Centennial of 1876.

The work lived up to its title in every respect and was uncommonly popular, four editions being issued within six months after its appearance. The *Popular History* suited the year in which it appeared. There is no erudition in the volume, although it abounds in references to sources, some of which are now lost. The appendices and notes in the back are valuable as summaries of all that had been published up to that time on the question of Catholic literature in the United States and on the problem of loss and gain. O'Kane Murray's work showed higher skill in its arrangement than did the Shea translation of De Courcy. Shea could have had no personal share in the composition of a popular book of this nature; in fact in the preface to the first volume of his own *History* (1886), he severely criticises Murray, without, however, mentioning his name, in these terms: "I have given the authorities in my notes, although scholars generally have been compelled to abandon the plan by the dishonesty of those who copy references and pretend to have consulted books and documents they never saw, and frequently could not read." Dr. Shea's works, as is well known, were so systematically pillaged by many authors that for a time he thought seriously of abandoning references altogether.

CHAPTER IV
THE "CRAMOISYS"
(1857-1863)

The discussion aroused by Shea's translation of De Courcy's *History* has led us a goodly number of years from the last stopping place in our narrative. Dr. Shea had not lost sight of one of his earlier plans in the midst of the work his post with the Dunigans entailed. In 1855 (October 2), he read a paper before the New York Historical Society, entitled *The Life and Character of Garakonthie, Sachem of Onondaga*. The following year the press of the Society issued his *Narrative of a Captivity among the Mohawk Indians and a Description of New Netherland in 1642-43 by Father Isaac Jogues, S. J., with a Memoir of the holy Missionary* (pp. 69). That same year he published in the *Boston Pilot* an interesting series of papers on *Perils of the Ocean and Wilderness, or Narratives of Shipwrecks and Indian Captivities*, which were gleaned from the annals of the early missionaries and were later published in one volume by Dunigan (1856). This latter volume (pp. 206) was an effort to widen the reading-public of the *Relations* by presenting some of the most graphic accounts of the perils the missionaries had encountered. A second edition was soon called for, but the book has now become a rarity. Dr. Shea published also this year (1856) a translation of the *Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of her Chaste Spouse Saint Joseph, and her holy Parents Saint Joachim and Saint Anne*. The life of the Blessed Virgin was that by Gentilucci; that of St. Joseph was by Father Vallego, a Mexican Jesuit of the seventeenth century, and the lives of Saints Joachim and Anne by Father Binet, S. J.

There are no real dividing lines in the years which followed John Gilmary Shea's retirement from the Society of Jesus in 1852. Year after year he worked away with a thoroughness and a dispatch that was astonishing. "It almost puzzles us," wrote Marc F. Vallette after Shea's death, "to answer the question how did he find time for this voluminous work, spread over so broad a field. Still his historical and archeological studies, though his constant and favorite occupation, in which are his deeper interest

was absorbed, did not secure for him a certain and adequate livelihood. Learning is not a financially remunerative calling. A novelist may be paid by the tens of thousands, a historical investigator is frequently glad to find a publisher. The respect paid him may be great, but his income is small."

So it proved with Dr. Shea. He was honored all through the next forty years by every living historian in the United States. Historical Societies also vied to do him honor. While Catholics were slow at first to recognize the splendid apologetical value of Dr. Shea's publications, during the last few years of his life he was placed by his own Church among the illustrious leaders whose names are to be preserved to posterity as among her most brilliant scholars.

In chronicling, however, the works which came from his pen, during these thirty years (1852-1882), unless the reader's attention is drawn to the fact, one important phase of Dr. Shea's life will be missed entirely. In very few of his letters do we find a word of complaint that year in and year out he was forced to labor at things that were trivial and ephemeral compared to the work his genius called him to do. For well-nigh twenty-five years his only steady income came from his salary as editor-in-chief of Frank Leslie's publications, *Popular Monthly*, *Chimney Corner*, *Sunday Magazine*, etc. Marc Vallette has written: "For upwards of twenty years a devout, strong, unwavering Catholic published week after week journals chiefly read by Protestants; he never failed in his loyalty to his Faith, he never sacrificed any principles, and yet his Protestant readers found no fault; most of them probably never suspected that they read the matter provided for them by an ex-Jesuit, who to the end of his life remained in spirit a son of Ignatius."

With this part of Dr. Shea's life we have less concern. It enters into the narrative only as a matter of great regret that so brilliant and versatile a scholar did not fall upon better days or at least find in his own Communion leaders far-sighted enough to relieve him of all financial worries. That this was done by some members of the American hierarchy in the closing years of his life only heightens the regret. His *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, written during the years he received support (1882-1892), is a lasting memorial to what might have been

had interest in Catholic historical scholarship been advanced enough all through these years (1852-1882) to have created for him a financial support which would not have embarrassed him and would certainly have honored the leaders of the Church in America.

John Gilmary Shea's historical and literary work during the next quarter of a century (1857-1882) can be regarded from various angles. During these years he belonged by right of his profound scholarship and his numerous publications to that small group of outstanding American historians who were writing between Prescott's death in 1859 and Bancroft's passing in 1891—George Ticknor (1791-1871), Henry C. Lea (1825-1907), John Lothrop Motley (1814-1877), and Francis Parkman (1823-1893). Jared Sparks was the Nestor of American historians in the first part of this middle period, although he published nothing of importance after his *Correspondence of the American Revolution* in 1853. A serious accident in 1851 impaired his right arm and the last years of his life, (he died in 1866) were spent in answering inquiries that came to him from many quarters. Bancroft's *History* continued to appear until 1874; and his *History of the Formation of the Constitution of the United States* was published in 1882. Motley's *History of the United Netherlands* came out between 1860 and 1867, and his *Life and Death of John of Barneveld* in 1874. Parkman's first great work *The Conspiracy of Pontiac* was given to the public in 1851, and the *Pioneers of New France*, in 1865.

After Sparks' death, Parkman was easily the leader in American historical literature. In fact, no American historian has ever equalled Parkman "in sympathy with his subject, in mastery of style, and in fusion of the writer's vigorous character." Bancroft's fitfulness of historical activity became almost a permanency after the publication of the ninth and tenth volumes of his *History* in 1874. Fourteen years separated the eighth and ninth volumes. To this period, however, belongs his great oration on Lincoln (1866). Peter Force passed away in 1868, the great dream of his life, the *American Archives*, unrealized. Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, with bitterer attacks in the Albany Legislature against his publication of sources than Force experienced in Congress, continued year after year to issue valuable reprints of

archival material until 1871, when circumstances surrounding his work and an accident put an end to his activities.

In point of numbers, Dr. Shea's publications outstrip those of almost all his contemporaries; almost one hundred volumes, some large, others small, besides a long list of historical articles in Catholic and non-Catholic periodicals, coming from his pen during these years under review.

John Gilmary Shea had read and studied for several years the precious collections of original manuscripts which Father Felix Martin, S. J., was assembling in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal. He had written on various occasions to Dr. O'Callaghan, when some new and valuable document came into Father Martin's possession and had often expressed his fears that the learned French Jesuit would be too occupied with the administration of the new College to attempt the publication of these sources. After Shea's departure from the Society of Jesus in 1852, Dr. O'Callaghan frequently urged him to make use of his friendship with Father Martin and of his former place in the Society to secure these manuscripts for publication. Shea mentioned the matter several times in his letters to his former superior, but did not find Father Martin enthusiastic over the project of allowing these documents to reach the public through an American. Father Martin, scholar that he was, realized the pleasure an editor would have in bringing them to light. O'Callaghan had experienced so much reluctance in obtaining valuable documents from private archives for his own publications that he continued to advise Shea to use the utmost tact with the Jesuits of Montreal. Frankly, both men felt that the work could best be done, when done by themselves. Up to January, 1855, Shea had not succeeded in persuading Father Martin to loan him a group of the *Relations*. On January 29, 1855, Dr. O'Callaghan writes to his young friend: "I am sorry to learn by yours of the 24th, that you have failed in obtaining the Mss. Worse luck now: better another time. I do not think that he (Martin) suspected you. The truth is, as I foresaw, that they want to print those things yonder (Montreal). You say they'll never do it. *Possible*. But still they look forward to that, and as the good Father has more to expect from Quebec than from New York, 'tis only natural he should await their pleasure I do not pretend to be

as well able to see through a millstone as you are, but I think you had better lie on your oars. They'll certainly smell a rat, if you continue urging them to comply with your wishes. Besides, *cui bono?* Quebec must pronounce. . . ."

Meanwhile, quite unexpectedly, the Society of Jesus gave Dr. Shea the required permission to issue a series of reprints of these rare little volumes in their possession. "I congratulate you on your success," wrote Dr. O'Callaghan from Albany, on February 21, 1855, "...hold on to the documents until I go down, which will be in a few days. In proportion to their great value is at the same time their great scarcity. A complete set is not now to be found even in the Royal Library at Paris."

Dr. Shea began the publication of these manuscripts in 1857; and for a period covering thirty years, these little booklets were issued to a chosen number of friends and historical students. One hundred copies only were printed of the two editions which appeared simultaneously, one in octavo and one in duodecimo. The twenty-five volumes published by Shea are now among the *rarisima* of our American libraries.

It was the duty of the Jesuit missionaries in North America to send each year to the superior in Montreal a written account of their labors. As each year reached its close, the Jesuit Superior sent to the Superior in Paris, a redaction of the letters he had received. This summary was called a *Relation*, or narrative of the most important events occurring in the district under his care. From 1632 to 1673, these narratives were carefully edited by the French Superior and were then published from the press of Sebastien Cramoisy. In all, forty volumes were issued and were popular in educated circles. As the years passed, the "Cramoisy" as they were called, became scarcer and scarcer, and, when Dr. O'Callaghan called attention to them in his *Jesuit Relations* (1847), no complete set was known to exist either in Europe or in America. With the assistance of O'Callaghan and Shea, Mr. James Lenox began to collect these rare volumes, and today what is probably the only complete set of "Cramoisy" is in the Lenox Library (Public Library, New York). In 1858, the Canadian government reprinted the "Cramoisy" in three large octavo volumes. This edition is also so scarce that copies are seldom offered for sale.

Dr. Shea's intention was to secure those *Relations*, still in manuscript, which had been prepared for publication after 1672, but which had never seen the light, and to print them as supplementary material to the original set of forty volumes. For that reason, he kept the name and his twenty-five little brochures are known as the *Cramoisy Series*. Both O'Callaghan and Father Martin published similar *Relations*; and with all this material as a basis, Reuben Gold Thwaites published (1896-1901) the travels and explorations of the Jesuit missionaries in New France in the original and in translation under the title *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, in seventy-three volumes.

Dr. Shea's *Cramoisy Series* is as follows:

1. Gravier (J.), *Relation de la Mission des Illinois* (1693), pp. 65, 1857.
2. Bigot (J.), *Relation de la Mission Abanaquaise* (1864), pp. 61, 1857.
3. Bigot (J.), *Relation de la Mission Abanaquaise* (1865), pp. 21, 1858.
4. Bigot (V.), *Relation de la Mission Abanaquaise* (1701), pp. 34, 1858.
5. Cavalier (R.), *Voyage de M. La Salle* (1865), pp. 54, 1858.
- 6-7. Chaumonot (J. M.), *Autobiographie*, pp. 108, 1858.
8. Tranchepain (A.), *Voyage des Ursulines à la Nouvelle Orleans*, pp. 62, 1859.
9. *Registres des Baptêmes et Sepultures au Fort Duquesne*, 1753, '54, '55, '56, pp. 51, 1859.
10. *Journal de la Guerre contres les Chicachas, 1739-40*, pp. 92, 1859.
11. Gravier (J.), *Voyage à l'embouchure du Mississippi, 1700*, pp. 68, 1859.
12. Dablon (C.), *Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1673-79*, pp. 290, 1860.
13. Dablon (C.), *Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1672-73*, pp. 219, 1861.
14. *Relations diverses sur la bataille du Malenguelé*, pp. 75, 1860.
15. *Relation des Missions du Seminaire de Quebec, 1700*, pp. 66, 1861.
16. Jogues (I.), *Novum Belgium*, pp. 44, 1862.

17. Saguean (M.), *Extrait des Voyages de Matthieu Saguean*, pp. 32, 1863.
18. Milet (P.), *Relation d'une captivité parmi les Onneiouts, 1690-91*, pp. 56, 1864.
19. *Nouvelle France et Nouvelle Angleterre, Negotiations, 1648*, pp. 63, 1866.
20. *Relation des Affaires du Canada en 1696*, pp. 73, 1865.
21. Bigot (J.) *Relation de la Mission Abanaquaise, 1702*, pp. 26, 1865.
22. Gravier (J.), *Lettre sur les Affaires de la Louisiana*, pp. 18, 1865.
23. *Lettre du P. Bigot à Annexy*, pp. 9, 1858.
24. Druillettes (G.), *Epistola ad Joannem Winthrop*, pp. 13, pp. 13, 1864.
25. Gendron, *Quelques Particularitez sur le Pays des Hurons*, pp. 26, 1860.
26. Chauchetière, *La Vie de la B. Catherine Tegahkouita, dictée à present la Sainte Sauvagesse*, Par le Père Claude Chauchetière de la Compagnie de Jesus, pp. 179, 1887.

Shea's *Cramoisy Series* has been unequally estimated by historical scholars. As a pioneer in the field of calling attention to the *Relations* as of prime importance for the student of French colonial America, Dr. Shea has won a unique place in American historiography. The reprinting, however, was not always successful. Victor Paltsits writes anent Dr. Shea's publication of Dablon's *Relation* of 1672-73—"The Shea series is a nebulous output. The volumes were issued without regard to chronological arrangement; not all of them are Jesuit *Relations*—several of the twenty-five which compose the set have no place in a collection of documents relating to the Order; there is seldom any information vouchsafed as to where and when the document was obtained; the editing of the Manuscripts is sometimes most recklessly done, the text being often modernized, and made to suffer from emendations of every character."

Only one who has seen in his correspondence the long train of petty annoyances which disturbed Dr. Shea's peace during the years of the *Cramoisy Series* (1857-1887) can give the proper answer to Dr. Paltsits' criticism. The *Cramoisy Series* was a private publication of a scholar who knew better than any histor-

ian of his time, not even with the exception of Parkman, the missionary history of the priests of New France. He took every care to reproduce the *Relations* exactly as he found them. But it was only by a kind of running warfare between himself and Munsell, the printer, that the little works appeared even as well done as they were. One *Relation*, in fact, was so badly reproduced by Munsell, that it had to be destroyed and a new edition printed. Dr. O'Callaghan repeatedly urged Shea to give up Munsell, but it was a question of economy for a scholar who had no financial help whatever for this ideal design. American Catholics were sublimely indifferent to the question of preserving these old records from destruction; and, if the truth can be told, Shea himself during these years was a pawn in the hands of unscrupulous Catholic publishers of New York, who looked upon him merely as a brilliant and swift composer or compiler of popular books for the trade.

Poverty sat behind Shea's shoulder all through these middle years, and there are pages in his business relations with certain Catholic publishers which had best be allowed to pass into oblivion. "I do not pity you, working night and day," O'Callaghan wrote on July 9, 1855, "don't you know that if you will let them, these Devilish Booksellers will flay you in order to make a drum afterwards of your skin to rattle your praise on with your shin bones for drumsticks! What nice music that will be for the Widow Shea! Have sense, child, don't be in a hurry to coin your heartstrings into gold. Take some recreation, but don't take it until next month, when, perhaps Providence in its wise dispensations, may bring us once more together."

Three other volumes belong to the year 1857. The first of these is the translation of Tachet de Barneval's *Histoire Légendaire de l'Irlande*, which had been published in Paris, in 1856. The story of Irish history was attracting scholarly attention about this time in the United States. The treasures locked up in manuscripts were then beginning to be presented to the reading public, and there was a renaissance of interest in Ireland's past. Prejudices, however, were still in evidence in the field of Irish hagiography, and Dr. Shea believed that Tachet de Barneval had written an account of the saints of Erin which would appeal to English readers. The translation has kept the rich, exuberant style of

the original, and is as graceful a narrative as ever came from Shea's pen. He was at the time, as he says in the preface, "rashly perhaps, engaged on a Life of St. Patrick, which he hopes soon to complete in spite of the difficulty of obtaining here works on the early Church history of Ireland." Dr. Shea's *Life of St. Patrick* was never published, but is among his papers in manuscript. Another unfinished manuscript is his *History of the Society of Jesus*. The *Legendary History of Ireland* (pp. 308) was followed by a translation of Canon Parenty's *Life of Saint Angela Merici of Brescia, foundress of the Order of Saint Ursula* (pp. 251). To this translation Dr. Shea appended the first history of the Ursulines in Ireland, Canada, and the United States. A little publication in eighteen pages appeared also in 1857, Father Gabriel Druillettes' *Journal of An Embassy from Canada to the United Colonies of New England in 1610*, which Shea translated from the original manuscript and published in the *Collections* of the New York Historical Society.

The following year (1858) Shea published a *Seraphic Manual* and a translation of Father Johann Roothann's *Method of Meditation*. This same year he began his long editorship (1858-1890) of the *General Catholic Directory, Almanac and Ordo*. Dunigan was its publisher from 1858 to 1862. The annual volumes from 1864 to 1896 came from the house of Sadlier.

The *Catholic Directory* has broken more than one editor's spirit in the long years of its existence. Issued first in 1817 by Matthew Field, in New York, the *Catholic Laity's Directory to the Church Service* was a failure and was not continued, although it had been announced as an annual publication. The failure was not due to the lack of financial support, but to the lack of interest taken by the clergy who neglected to send information concerning their labors. Five years later (1822), another attempt was made, the *Laity's Directory to the Church Service*, published by William H. Creagh. This failed for the same reason. A third venture was the *United States Catholic Almanac or Laity's Directory*, begun in 1832 by James Myers, of Baltimore. From 1833 to 1837, annual *Directories* were issued by Myers, and from 1838 to 1854 by Fielding Lucas, Jr., of the same city. The 1858 edition was published by Dunigan & Kirker, with Dr. Shea as general editor. In 1859, Murphy, the publisher of Baltimore, published

a rival volume, *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac*, begun, as is stated in the preface, at the request of the Archbishop of Baltimore. In 1860, the two rival publications were issued, Duni-gan's in New York, Murphy's in Baltimore. In 1861, only Mur-phy's *Almanac* made its appearance. No general *Directory* was issued for 1862 or 1863, owing to the Civil War. In 1864, again under Dr. Shea's editorship, the *Directory* appeared from the press of the Sadliers. From 1864 to 1885, the Sadliers had the field to themselves. In 1886 the Hoffmans of Milwaukee began a rival publication, on account of the dissatisfaction caused by "the inaccuracy, incompleteness and exorbitant price" of the Sadlier *Directory*. The two *Directories* came out annually until 1896, when the Sadliers ceased publishing their volume. Hoff-mann continued alone in the field until 1897, when the *Directory* plant was purchased by the Wiltzius firm. From 1897 to 1911 the house of Wiltzius issued the *Directory* and it was then sold to Messrs. P. J. Kenedy & Sons of New York, who have pub-lished it since 1912.

The preface of all these volumes repeats the same tale: reports and statistics were difficult to obtain from bishops and chancel-lors; so much so that it can hardly be said that any one annual volume presents an absolutely accurate statement of the Catholic Church in the United States.

Dr. Shea's correspondence during these forty-two years of editorship of the *Directory* has its share of letters complaining about the statistics given for some of the dioceses. In spite of all his efforts, his appeals in many dioceses, including that of New York, were often overlooked and the old statistics had to stand. The work was tedious and not very remunerative. He was encouraged often by quaint letters from Dr. O'Callaghan, who admitted in one of his missives: "When I get home in the evening, I am as stupid as an owl (owls *are* stupid, you know, for those of them I ever saw wore glasses) and have scarcely brains enough to bless myself, which I should hardly be able to do, were it not that I was taught long ago, and the mechanism remains." On another occasion to stir Shea up he said, "Eleazar Williams, the lost prince, wants to know: Who is this Shea?" Dr. Shea had dealt rather summarily with the "Lost Dauphin" in his translation of De Courcy. On another occasion, when Dr.

Shea was rather depressed over the *Directory*, O'Callaghan advised him to get out more into the open and to learn how to play. "Do you remember," he writes, "the holidays when a schoolboy? I do not believe you do. When I first knew you, you were as big as you are now, so I believe you never were a boy, but like Jonah's gourd, were as big when you were born as you have ever been since. But if ever you were a boy and had holidays, you can foreshadow my week, at Mrs. O'C's expense!"

Dr. Shea was pleasantly surprised about this time with two letters, one in Latin, the other in French, from Cardinal Bedini, thanking him for the splendid volume *De Courcy* and himself had written, and in which, as we have seen, there is a rather extended dedication to the celebrated nuncio. "Que de peines," Bedini writes, "que vous vous êtes données pour l'autre livre de M. Courcy dans lequel on parle si bien de ma Mission aux Etats-Unis!"

It was about this time, also, that Shea was contemplating the publication of a series of grammars and dictionaries in the North American Indian languages. While on the trail of one of these manuscripts, O'Callaghan blandly informed him: "Mr. O'Loughlin thinks a Priest has borrowed it. If so, then I despair of seeing it again, my experience of these Gents is that they do not subscribe to the doctrine of Restitution of Books. Possibly, they are more particular about Umbrellas." It was by some of the Catholic priests of the country that Dr. Shea was being attacked for statements which appeared in his *De Courcy* translation and also for the absence of certain traditional "facts" which Shea disregarded as unhistorical. Dr. O'Callaghan was able to dispel his sense of injury with clippings from the *Albany Statesman*, where his own great work for the history of New York State was being bitterly attacked by the Know-Nothings—"Frères Ignorantins"—on account of the many Catholic documents which were appearing in his volume.

In a letter, dated Albany March 7, 1857, O'Callaghan gives a curious side-light on the intolerance that had crept into New York political life: "The foundation of all is those Notes to vol. IX. and ascribing the Honor of discovering the Salt Springs to the Jesuits. And now to show how these things are brought to bear. I have only to mention what has recently been told me by

a Gentleman (an American) of the highest respectability here. When Dr. Beck's approaching death rendered it necessary to look out for a Successor, my informant was consulted, and, as he says, at once mentioned by name, on grounds unnecessary to mention here, but such as may naturally be entertained. He was met at once by an awful shake of the head, an explanation of which was demanded. 'Oh! he'll never do. He's a Jesuit!' The gentleman who was making this communication to me then gravely asked me if I were indeed of that Order?" The clipping enclosed by Dr. O'Callaghan from the *Statesman* accuses the *Documentary History* as being "characterized in many portions by a bitterness of feeling towards all Protestant sects."

On January 5, 1858, Dr. O'Callaghan wrote to Shea recommending that, instead of a supplement on a topic which Shea intended to treat in a forthcoming edition of De Courcy, a separate volume be written entitled *The Catholic Writers of America*. "Be careful," he says, "how you mention it to anyone, for ten to one but some fellow will execute it before you." There is nothing in Shea's papers to suggest that he ever began this work, though it may have been the incentive to another, the outlines of which he left incomplete, *The Glories of the Catholic Church*, the subtitle being, "her great saints, popes, bishops, missionaries, churches, abbeys, statesmen, warriors, scholars, poets, artists, men of science, architects, explorers, inventors, religious orders, musicians, educators, and doers of works of mercy." He did however edit a volume with this title, which was published by Thomas Kelly in 1877. The subjects treated were taken from Shea's list. Shea was trying at the time to have Cardinal Manning write the first chapter on the great popes and their influence, and to secure Dr. Newman for the chapter on the great bishops.

It is not certain what it was in Dr. Shea's plans at this time which secured for him the following recommendation from Archbishop Hughes:

"New York, Feby. 13, 1858.

"The undersigned hereby certifies, that John Gilmary Shea, is a Catholic gentleman of exemplary life, and extensive, as well as varied erudition. He has already rendered great service to the Catholic religion in the country, by his research and publications in reference to the early missions and missionaries of this

country. I know of no other writer, to whom copies of historical documents, whether, in the Archives of Rouen, or elsewhere, could be intrusted with so much prospect of their being used for the best purposes of religion.

✠ *John, Abb. of New York*"

A curious incident happened this same year which emphasizes the similarity of tastes of the two men, who had mutually encouraged and inspired each other for about a decade of years. In March, 1858, Dr. O'Callaghan wrote to Shea, asking him for information regarding the earliest Catholic Bibles printed in this country, for a brochure he was then preparing, and which eventually he published in 1861 with the title, *List of Editions of the Holy Scriptures and Parts Thereof, Printed in America Previous to 1860*. This was suggested by James Lenox, to whom the *List* is inscribed. O'Callaghan's volume contains "a magnificent introduction, which shows what an amount of information with regard to colonial conditions of all kinds O'Callaghan had collected and digested. Besides being a veritable mine of exact information, however, this introduction is very interesting reading, because it gives some idea of the difficulties under which the early printers and publishers labored."

Dr. Shea was amazed at the request of March 26, and replied at once that he had been quietly working for several years on a *Bibliographical Account of Catholic Bibles, Testaments, and other portions of Scripture, translated from the Latin Vulgate and printed in the United States*, and that it was almost ready for the printer. On March 31, Dr. O'Callaghan replied: "I am sorry that my request for those Bibles shocked you. You sent me a list once, but I passed it to Mr. Lenox. Now, at the request of that gentleman, I have prepared a Paper on the early editions of the Bible in this country, but I have confined myself to *first* editions. This paper is complete as far as I shall go, with the exception of the Catholic Bible. Therefore please send me your copy of Carey Stewart & Co. 1790 ed., which I shall return after a few days. I would not like my Paper to go, without adding the Catholic Bible. I should like to say, also, when the first Catholic Bible was printed in Baltimore and New York, if you could give me date & printer's name. But I do not wish to interfere with your purpose of getting up a bibliographical account, as you can do more

justice to the subject than I can pretend to do. Indeed, my paper cannot in any way interfere with your design, as I understand you intend to confine yourself to Catholic Bibles. If you have any references to other books and authorities that may be of use, dot them down."

Dr. Shea's little volume of forty-eight pages duodecimo came out the next year and was immediately recognized as a most important factor in the problem then facing the Catholic bishops of the country, the publishing of an accurate English version of the Holy Scriptures. Dr. Shea's study did more than list the editions of the Catholic Bible; it pointed out that no Catholic edition in the United States was accurate. There is no more interesting page in American Catholic bibliography than this. Dr. Shea was constantly surprised by the mistakes he found in the editions then current in the United States. His *Bibliographical Account* is the first American monograph on the subject, and had it not been for O'Callaghan's prudent advice, Dr. Shea might have blundered into a fuller description of the inaccuracies that abounded in the American editions. Even in 1861, when he was thinking of issuing a larger edition of his *Account* with an introduction giving all these variants, O'Callaghan warned him that such a step was beyond their rightful field. In O'Callaghan's Introduction (pp. li-lix) a list of the errors and variations found in the modern Douay Bible was printed, based upon Dr. Shea's studies of the volume.

On March 28, 1861, O'Callaghan wrote:

"I have yours of the 26th. You have put your finger on the sore spot, or difficulty which I foresaw all along, but which I did not mention, as I was in hope that your mother wit would find a way to escape from, or solve, it.

"If we set ourselves up as Judges in Israel, will we not be considered presumptuous? If we keep silent will not this thing go on until it gain such head as to produce in time a greater amount of evil, when enemies, not friends, will take hold of it?

"These are the Scylla and Caribdis of the case. Let us pray.

"I have been evolving the matter over in my mind. The work, you will bear in mind, is purely bibliographical. We have nothing; or profess to have nothing, to do with the opinions of the authors, or the authority, of the volumes described. They are looked upon

only as books 'and nothing more.' We give their titles; describe their contents and point out any errors met in them, whether typographical or textual, in the same manner and with the same animus as you would collate sundry editions of Homer or Shakespeare.

"In the course of the work this is the line that has been pursued towards the editions of K. Js. Bible or the Royal Version, and with Eliot's Bible. Wherever an error was discovered, it was set down, not through malice, but that it may be corrected, or if past correction, avoided in future editions.

"In doing so, no disrespect was intended towards the publishers or the Society whose work was found to contain errors.

"When Carey's 1790 ed. was come to, it became a question with me whether to append the list of errors to that title then, and in subsequent titles to refer back to that list; perhaps that would have been the better course. But it would have been making that edition responsible exclusively for errors for which subsequent editions are equally responsible, and now it is no longer time to entertain the question.

"I do not see any necessity of bringing others into question, or mentioning anything about them or their approbation one way or the other.

"In winding up the Introduction I say, that in going along, 'Errors that have been discovered in the Text of the several editions of the English and other versions have been noted down for the benefit of future publishers'; & then I proposed to add a Table headed as follows: Texts in the Latin Vulgate which are incorrectly printed in the subjoined (professed?) editions of the Douay Bible published in the United States:

Vulgate Gen. 4:14	Carey, 1790 Words in	Cummiskey, 1825	Doyle 8 vol.	Sadlier 1851	Dunigan's Haydock
Text in full	Italic	incorrect	1836	incorrect	1852
	omitted		correct		incorrect

"This is purely *bibliographical* information within our line, and strictly german to our subject. Publishers may take advantage of it if they please; their superiors may oblige them to do so if they like. But we pass no opinion on the acts of others and leave to others to explain why such things are. The *onus probandi* does not rest with us. We only describe books as we find them and herein I think we do not overstep the line of the scholar or sit

in judgment on others. Let me hear your opinion on this plan & view of the case."

All through the year 1858, both Dr. Shea and his wife were ill, and there are among his letters many consoling messages from Albany from Dr. O'Callaghan and Mrs. O'Callaghan encouraging them both in their predicament. Once O'Callaghan wrote:

"Les Geux
Sont des gens heureux—
Compared with us quill-drivers!"

Financially New York was not proving all that Dr. Shea expected. He was not able to support his little family in comfort, nor could he give Mrs. Shea the care and medical attention she needed, because of this constant lack of money. He began correspondence with a Philadelphia firm, hoping to secure a more lucrative position, and announced what he thought to be his approaching departure to Dr. O'Callaghan. On April 20, 1858, O'Callaghan wrote: "Mrs. O'C. says, you might as well be in St. Petersburg or the Moon for any chance I stand of ever again meeting you." If only Shea had gone to Paris, O'Callaghan said he would not be troubled, "but Philadelphia? Well, Good-bye!" A week later, at Mrs. O'Callaghan's suggestion, he wrote again: "You're overworked, good friend, and need relaxation. Besides Mrs. Shea wants the house cleaned and you're in the way; so come to Albany for a visit." The invitation was not heeded, and on May 9, in a letter to Dr. Shea, he writes: "Dear Mrs. Shea, where's John's carpet bag Please put a couple of shirts in it and turn him out of doors!"

The summer brought a slight change in Dr. Shea's fortunes. He succeeded in extricating himself from a fatiguing and unsatisfactory position with the Dunigans and in forming a better business connection which was more to his liking and which promised to be eventually a source of profit to himself. Towards the end of the year, Archbishop Hughes appointed him a member of an Historical Commission for the Archdiocese of New York:

New York, Dec. 30, 1858.

"Dear Sir:

"I have taken the liberty of appointing you as one of three members, who are to constitute what I call the Bureau of Records,



JOHN GILMARY SHEA AT THE AGE OF FORTY



MRS. JOHN GILMARY SHEA (1863)

in connection with the building of the New Cathedral. The object will be, to preserve from the beginning such memoirs in connection with our great work as you yourself have desired in your searches for early historical information connected with the origin, either of missions or of churches in this great and growing country of ours. Some unborn historian of the Catholic Church in the United States will pray for the prolongation of your life or the repose of your soul, for having contributed to leave behind data, from which he may complete his Ecclesiastical history of the U. S. with less toil and more satisfaction than you have experienced in your attempts hitherto. And in view of such circumstances, you can say our *hand ignavus mali miseris succurere disco*.

"Yours Very Faithfully in Christ,

✠ JOHN, Abp. of New York.

Dr. Shea was proud of this signal honor and ever afterwards looked upon his post as that of diocesan historiographer. In fact he so refers to himself in the preface to a large volume he published on *The Catholic Churches of New York City, with Sketches of their History and Lives of the present Pastors*, which appeared in 1879.

In 1860, Shea began the publication of a series of valuable reprints to which he gave the title: *Library of American Linguistics*. These volumes were similar in design with the *Cramoisy Series*. The *Linguistics* were to contain grammars, dictionaries, and vocabularies of the Indian tribes of North America, and the sources were to be unpublished manuscripts in French, German, Spanish, and Latin, of the early missionaries and others. His purpose was to preserve these languages in as pure a form as possible before they were lost. The study of American ethnology had been fettered by the want of anything like reliable grammars and dictionaries, and so long as students were obliged to rely on scanty or erroneous vocabularies, the science remained in its infancy. The *Library* was recognized at the time as a signal service to American ethnologists. Dr. Shea published fifteen of these volumes, some small, others large, in editions of one hundred copies and presented them to friends and scholars. Thirteen of them were printed between 1861 and 1864; the other two appeared in 1873-1874.

The volumes published were:

1. Shea, J. G. *A French-Onondaga Dictionary, from a manuscript of the seventeenth century*, pp. 103, New York, 1860. MS. in Georgetown College Library.
2. Mengarini, Gregory. *A Selfish or Flathead Grammar*, pp. viii-122. New York, 1861.
3. Smith, Buckingham. *A Grammatical Sketch of the Heve Language*, translated from an unpublished Spanish manuscript, pp. 26. New York, 1861.
4. Arroyo De La Cuesta, Felipe. *Grammar of the Mutsun Language, spoken at the mission of San Juan Bautista, Alta California*, pp. viii-48. New York, 1861.
5. Smith, Buckingham. *Grammar of the Pima or Vevome, a language of Sonora, from a manuscript of the eighteenth century*. Pp. viii-97. *Doctrina Christiana y Confesionario en Lengua Nevome, Sea La Pima, propria de Sonora*. Pp. 32. New York, 1862.
6. Pandosy. *Grammar and Dictionary of the Yakama Language*. Pp. viii-97. New York 1862.
7. Sitjar, Bonaventure. *Vocabulary of the Language of San Antonio Mission, California*. Pp. xix-53. New York, 1861.
8. Arroyo De La Cuesta. *A Vocabulary or Phrase Book of Mutsun Language of Alta California*. Pp. viii-96. New York, 1862.
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11. Gibbs, George. *A Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon, or, Trade Language of Oregon*. Pp. xiv-43. New York, 1863.
13. Maillard, Abbé. *Grammar of the Mikmaque Language of Nova Scotia, edited from manuscripts by Rev. Joseph M. Bellinger*. Pp. 101. New York, 1864.
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CHAPTER V

THE MIDDLE YEARS

(1863-1882)

After the outbreak of the Civil War, Dr. Shea projected a series of volumes, which he entitled *Fallen Brave: a biographical Memorial of the American Officers who have given their lives for the preservation of the Union*. Only one volume was published (1861), containing twenty-four biographies. The majority of these he wrote and the others he edited. Among the lives is that of Colonel Lowe, of Batavia, Ohio, who won an uneviable reputation after the Mexican War as the American officer who brought what was believed to be a consecrated Host from the battlefield and kept it in a Church of England prayer book where in January, 1849, it was found by Archbishop Purcell, who consumed It.

During the war, Dr. Shea published: the *Micmac Recollect Hieroglyphics* in the *Historical Magazine* (Vol. V, pp. 289-292); *Chicago from 1673 to 1725, or what is known of the first half-Century of its History*, a communication to the Chicago Historical Society; *Christopher Columbus and Beatrice Enriques*, in the *Historical Magazine* (Vol. V, pp. 225-226); Dablon's *Relation of the Discovery of the South Sea by the Rivers of New France* (*ibid.*, pp. 237-239); an *Historical Sketch of the Tionan-tates* (*ibid.*, pp. 262-269); *Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi* by Cavalier Le Suer, Gravier, and Guignas, with an *Introduction and Notes* (Pp. 191, Albany, 1891)—the edition being limited to one hundred copies; a *Description of the Province and City of New York in 1695* (pp. 127, New York, 1882); *Operations of the French Fleet under Count DeGrasse* (1781-82), pp. 216, New York, 1864; *Affairs at port Chartres* (1768-81). Pp. 12, 1864; *The Lincoln Memorial* (pp. 268), a record of the life, assassination, and obsequies of the martyred President, which he edited and published in 1865; the *Capuchin Missions in Maine*, in the *Historical Magazine* (Vol. VIII, pp. 177, 301), giving an account of the copper plate found at Cas-

tine in 1864; and *Early Southern Tracts: A Relation of the successful beginnings of the Lord Baltimore's plantation in Maryland, and Sot-Weed Factor, or a Voyage to Maryland*, both published in 1865.

In addition to all these works, Dr. Shea assisted in editing (1855-1867) the *Historical Magazine*.

In 1865, Shea was at work on a translation of Charlevoix' *History and General Description of New France*, which he published in six volumes from 1866 to 1872.

In 1866, Dr. Shea moved with his family to Elizabeth, N. J., where he found quiet for the difficult and tedious work of this translation. It was for this scholarly work that Dr. Shea received the highest praise bestowed on any of his books. One review deserves to be cited here:

"The spirit and the manner in which Mr. Shea has entered upon his task are above all praise. It is with him a 'labor of love.' In these days of literary 'jobs,' when bad translating and careless editing are palmed off on the amateurs of choice books in all the finery of broad margins and faultless typography, it is refreshing to meet with a book of which the mechanical excellence is fully equaled by the substantial value of its contents, and by the thorough, conscientious and scholarlike character of the literary execution. The labor and the knowledge bestowed on this translation would have sufficed to produce an original history of high merit. Charlevoix rarely gives his authorities. Mr. Shea has more than supplied this deficiency. Not only has he traced out the sources of his author's statements and exhibited them in notes, but he has had recourse to sources of which Charlevoix knew nothing. He is thus enabled to substantiate, correct or amplify the original narrative. He translates it, indeed, with literal precision, but in his copious notes he sheds such a flood of new light upon it that this translation is of far more value to the student than the original work. Since Charlevoix's time, many documents unknown to him, though bearing on his subject, have been discovered, and Mr. Shea has diligently availed himself of them. The tastes and studies of many years have made him familiar with this field of research, and prepared him to accomplish an undertaking which would otherwise have been impracticable."

When two volumes had appeared, Dr. Shea sent a printed announcement (October 1, 1867), asking for subscriptions to the four concluding volumes. "A history," he says, "so rich in material and able in its arrangement should long since have been in English; and, deeming it a work worthy of being placed beside Bancroft and Prescott, to show together the rise of the three great nationalities in North America, I have not only translated the work, but examined carefully all the authorities for every statement, referring in notes to every work or known document elucidating it." The edition was limited to two hundred and fifty copies on large paper and forty on small paper. The large paper edition sold for twelve dollars a volume; the small at six dollars a volume.

What captured the lovers of volumes so perfect in their typography as these was that the work as a whole could not have been attempted with the idea of financial gain. Only one guided by disinterested zeal or sheer love for his theme could have accepted so difficult a task, for Shea's translation filled what was a very wide gap in the historical literature of America.

Shea had not relinquished the idea of publishing a correct English version of the Bible. On March 29, 1865, he wrote to Archbishop McCloskey, thanking the future Cardinal for the information he had given regarding the proposed adoption of Kenrick's Bible in the Province of New York. He says:

"I cannot but thank your Grace in all sincerity for your kindness in regard to the Bible and my pains bestowed on it. Your hesitation I appreciate all the more from the information your Grace's letter gives me for the first time of the adoption by the Provinces of Baltimore and Cincinnati of the translation of the late Archbishop Kenrick and of its contemplated adoption by your own Province. The interest which I have felt in that great work makes the pleasure almost personal. To speak in approval of what had been done would be to assume a right of judging but as a loyal son of the Church I can rejoice at a step where I can gather wisdom, the removing of scandal, and an answer to a reproach of Protestant scholars. Our noble Rhemish-Douay in its original form, misjudged and slighted by Catholics, few of whom ever saw it, but which King James' translators estimated at its true value, when they abandoned the rendering of previous

Protestant versions and followed Gregory Martin and Cardinal Allen, has been in lapse of time, by careless editing and still more careless printing, rendered so incorrect and variant that no two Bibles of Testaments read alike. This fact was known by Protestants and they made the apparent disregard of the labors of Archbishop Kenrick a reproach, forgetting as usual that the Church acts deliberately. With his version or revision of the current text, adopted and printed correctly as his own edition is, we may well feel proud that the Church in the United States has supplied the great want."

The information Dr. Shea sought was this: the Sadliers had decided to ask for ecclesiastical permission to issue a Pocket Catholic Bible, and Dr. Shea was deputed to be its editor. Shea wished to know what English version the Archbishop would have him select. He himself preferred the original Douay in place of Dr. Challoner's Bible which was then generally used in English-speaking countries. The project was dropped for a few years, but in 1868, the Sadliers again took the matter up with Archbishop McCloskey, and on January 16, 1869, the Archbishop wrote: "I hereby authorize Messrs. D. & J. Sadlier & Co. to print a Pocket Catholic Bible under the supervision of Mr. John G. Shea, the text to be an exact reprint of the Bible issued by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Challoner in 1750, typographical errors only excepted, and the punctuation and the orthography of proper names to be made to conform to the edition of the Vulgate of 1593 or an authenticated modern reprint thereof."

Dr. Shea then set to work upon the Challoner version of 1750 and sent to the Archbishop a memorandum which should be preserved, if only as a proof of Dr. Shea's profound knowledge of this difficult subject:

"Your Grace having decided that the new edition of the Bible to be issued by Messrs. Sadlier should be a reprint of Challoner's genuine edition of 1750, rather than of the original Douay, which has become obsolete and unknown, and having authorized me to superintend it, I now submit to your Grace the plan adopted and the corrections which it seemed to be necessary to make.

"Bishop Challoner lived in a difficult time, while the penal laws were still in force; he was even arrested and Bishop Talbot

whose co-adjutor he was, actually underwent a trial at the Old Bailey. He could not take his manuscript Bible to any large printing house; it had to be printed in some obscure concern, with limited resources, and it was issued in 1750 without any designation of the place of issue or the name of the publisher. It forms five small duodecimo volumes, and as may be inferred teemed with errors. The venerable translator himself with his episcopal missionary and literary labors seems to have had no literary assistant whose critical eye would have detected errors, some of which have been perpetuated down to our day.

"The punctuation is careless. I have made it conform as nearly as the idiom will admit to the edition of the Vulgate of 1592 recognized as a standard. The various places I do not here specify, but can if required.

"The division of the verses did not always correspond with the Vulgate and I have made it correspond in all cases. The various cases I can report.

"As the only recognized standard of proper names, I have also followed the Vulgate.

"These three classes required great care and minute detail, but have I think been faithfully carried out, so that in punctuation, names, and divisions of verse and chapter this edition corresponds with the Vulgate.

"Another series of errors not always noted in the following list was the frequent giving singular instead of plural; whether this was typographical or not is not certain, but '*populi*' for instance is sometimes 'peoples' and sometimes 'people.' Following the example and advice of the late Archbishop Kenrick I have made it conform to the Latin giving the plural form in English wherever the Latin form was plural.

"Some of the errors noted are clearly typographical, where a clause is omitted between the same word occurring twice in a verse, as in Exodus XXXV, 23, where nearly all our common Bibles are defective.

"Sometimes, where the author had placed two readings intending to decide, both have been inserted by the printer, as in II Kings XXIV, 17, Isaias XLIII, 10, Daniel II, 31.

"Some times the ear seems to have misled scribe or printer as in Job 30, 31, where 'heart' is printed for 'harp' (*cithara*), and

2 Esdras III-15 where in all our Bibles 'guard' is given for 'garden' (*horto*).

"I have occasionally transposed a word where by following the Latin order the sense conveyed to an ordinary English reader is false. A case of this occurs in the Nicene Creed, 'to judge the living and the dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end.' Here 'whose' is generally understood as referring to 'living and dead'; while by reading 'Of His Kingdom' there can be no ambiguity.

"So Challoner, Acts XIII, 45, reads: 'and contradicted those things which were said by Paul blaspheming.' Here Paul seems to blaspheme, whereas by reading 'and blaspheming contradicted those things which were said by Paul,' there is no ambiguity in English. The Latin with its numbers and case avoids any caused by the position of the word. So expressions like 'Isaias, the son of Amos the prophet,' where the word prophet in the nominative refers clearly to Isaias, but in English 'the prophet' according to our construction refers to Amos; should read 'the prophet Isaias, the son of Amos.'

"With these general observations I submit the following list of corrections made, that if any require alteration, it may be done before any editions are worked off.

"It may seem strange that so many errors exist in that edition, and that so many of them have been continued in our common editions; but before the venerable translator could issue a revised edition, some one without consulting him and without his approval issued an edition introducing many changes: in every subsequent edition whether in England, Ireland or this country, further changes were made, but no thorough revision by the Vulgate was attempted.

"In making the corrections here noted, I acted only where the old Douay, the French translation of Carrière, the German of Allioli and the Spanish of Scio, and notes of Archbishop Kenrick justified it.

"Some cases seemed to me incorrect but as there was authority for the rendering I have left them unchanged. A list of these is given that they may be acted upon.

"Italics were used on two different systems, and neither absolutely followed. In the Old Testament words not in the original

were italicized: in the New, quotations from the Old Testament also. I have made only the supplied words italic, and used all care to denote all such words."

Then follows a long list of the *errata* in Challoner's Bible, from Genesis to the acts. It is an amazing specimen of philological lore. Only one who possessed a unique grasp of the Latin Vulgate could have detected all the words and phrases which were not English equivalents to St. Jerome's translation. "In concluding this statement of what I consider the most important work of my life," Shea says, "I feel confident that as now submitted to your Grace, this edition of Challoner's Bible is the only one preserving his text, adhering to the Vulgate in all cases, heretofore disfigured by omissions and misprints, and adhering to it in the division of versions, punctuation and orthography, and noting exactly words introduced to complete the sense."

Dr. Shea met with one of the saddest disappointments in his life, when the house of Sadlier issued the Pocket Bible, bearing the Archbishop's *imprimatur*, but without Shea's name on the title page or in the foreword. Dr. Shea honestly wanted the public credit he knew his labors deserved; and he confesses to the Archbishop in a letter dated February 4, 1871, that "the credit and responsibility was the chief inducement for my undertaking the task, not the pittance Mr. Sadlier offered, and finally in his usually unjust and oppressive way, refused to pay me. I do not wish to obtrude on Your Grace my troubles and difficulties, or Lazarus-like, show myself at the rich man's door begging not for alms but for the promised remuneration for my labor; but you can form little idea of the agony I suffered last year with a dying relative to support and minister to and my own family needs besides and unable to obtain from Mr. Sadlier a single dollar, although he had promised to give me some if I required it; and then when the work was complete he told me that he would not pay part of my claim unless a court of law compelled him and thus avoided paying me a single dollar. He has now an approbation page printed in which being without the preliminary approbation originally given, I am ignored and a notice of copyright in his own name inserted so as to prevent, if possible, my doing for any other any part of my work again, the fruit of

years of study and comparison. As it stands I feel that it is unjust to me. I certainly am not one who has sought to thrust myself forward into public notice but in this case feeling that in what I have done to reform the careless Bible printing so long in vogue and especially in this case, I have done perhaps the only service to the Church which is of any real merit, the blow is hard to bear. Do I ask too much of your Grace when I respectfully solicit that you will adapt the present Approbation as to give me credit for my labor or request. Mr. Sadlier to print the other approbation also and at the same time to desist from assuming to copyright my literary labor”?

Dr. Shea broke off all business relations with the Sadliers when this injustice was not immediately removed. Later, credit was given to him for his revision of Challoner, and in a second edition of the Pocket Bible (1876) he added a translation from Allioli's Commentary.

Between 1869 and the appearance of his next important translation, Le Clercq's *First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, which he published in two volumes in 1881, Dr. Shea issued the following works: a new edition of George Alsop's *Character of the Province of Maryland* (No. 5 of Gowans' *Bibliotheca Americana*), which was published in an edition of two hundred copies octavo and sixty-four copies quarto, in 1869; a third edition of his *General History of Modern Europe*, in 1870; a popular work in three large volumes entitled *A Child's History of the United States*; filled with attractive illustrations, which appeared in 1872; the *Life of Pius IX and the Great Events in the History of the Church during his Pontificate* (pp. 440), New York, 1877; his *Catholic Chronicles of New York City* (1878), which has been mentioned above; a revised and augmented edition of the De Courcy-Shea *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, in 1879, in which are omitted the dedication to Bedini and all the documents relating to the nuncio; and finally what many scholars consider one of the most important volumes in the wide range of his historical activities, Hennepin's *Description of Louisiana*, with a *Bibliography of Hennepin's Works*, which was published towards the end of the year 1880, the bi-centennial of Father Hennepin's exploration of the upper Mississippi and discovery of the Falls of Anthony.



Jacobus Roswell Bayley Dec
et Apostolicae Sedis gratia, Archiepiscopus
Baltimorensis, Munitis hanc vobis salutem
in D.^o Praesentium tenore testamur
Saluti hanc, Dominus James Edmundus Shea
a plurimis annis vobis estimis, Catho-
licae Religionis cultui eximis, litterarum
multum perito, ita integro ut fides ei tuto
habeatur, et jam cum se parante ad con-
scribendum Ecclesiae Americanae historiam,
sine periculo aliquo committi posse quocum-
que manuscripta, Epistolas, Officia utpote
caute ab eo custodienda, ac remittenda,
omnes quos ad iterum est. Precans ut benigni-
tatem adhibere, eique pro viribus auxiliis esse
velint. Datum ex aedibus Episcopalibus
Baltimore vili Idus Septembris
anno Domini 1876.

Jacobus Roswell Bayley
Archiep. Baltimorensis

During this decade (1869-1880) Dr. Shea was active in other directions. On May 31, 1878, he was invited by the Missouri Historical Society to come to St. Louis for the 205th anniversary of the exploration of the Mississippi River, which was held on July 17 of that year. The invitation is signed by Albert Todd, P. L. Foy, James O. Broadhead, Rt. Rev. Bishop Ryan (later Archbishop of Philadelphia), Mayor Overstolz, and Alexander J. P. Garesché. The resolution passed by the executive council of the Society (June 10, 1878), which accompanied the invitation reads as follows: "Whereas John Gilmary Shea of New York, a corresponding member of this Society, has devoted a life-time to the study of the early history of the United States and especially of Canada and the Valley of the Mississippi, and earned an honorable fame by the books he has written, published, or edited, relating thereto, it is furthermore directed that he be invited to honor our jubilee meeting with his presence and favor the Society with a discourse on the occasion."

This was Dr. Shea's first journey to the west. The address he delivered on the occasion was later published in pamphlet form (pp. 20), in New York.

As we shall see, Dr. Shea was not to wait for the invitation of the prelates of the Third Plenary Council (1884) to begin the greatest work of his life, his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*. Already in 1878, the plan of the work was taking shape in his mind, and there are letters in his correspondence showing that he was then completing his source-collection for the project. On September 15, 1887, he wrote to R. R. Elliott, of Detroit: "I am one of the few Old Mortalities among our Catholic folk and like to see mementoes of our predecessors in the Faith preserved. But to my regret, I find very, very little preserved as I should wish. Detroit has had a chapel and church since 1701. Is there any old chalice, ciborium, monstrance, or vestment of the French era still kept, or have all disappeared? Are there even tombstones of any of the earlier priests? In Maryland, where Catholicity has existed since 1634, you can scarcely find a trace to show that it was there even in the eighteenth century, and nothing of the seventeenth."

He began also at this time to collect diocesan statutes and synodal *acta et decreta*, and it is significant that at that date, some of

the bishops of important Sees were obliged to confess that not a single copy of these valuable sources could be found.

In preparation for the *History*, his correspondence became very large, including the foremost historical scholars here and abroad. There is a pathetic reply from Brother Henry Foley, dated London, November 18, 1880, in which that indefatigable compiler writes: "I am struggling with blindness, from cataract, and am now awaiting an operation." William J. Onahan of Chicago, who possessed all of Shea's great love of the American Church, wrote on December 3, 1880: "I wish your work and works met a wider appreciation and a more prompt recognition in money value. But your labors though warmly appreciated by the studious few will come into greater and wider fame in the hereafter time. Catholics especially owe you a debt of gratitude (of which few of them now seem to comprehend the magnitude) in that you are constantly bringing together the Catholic sources of American history and vindicating their faith before the world."

The publication of Le Clercq (1881) in the same handsome binding and type as his Hennepin's *Description of Louisiana* brought delight to all book-lovers. Father Christian Le Clercq's *First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, published in Paris in 1691, was one of the very rarest Americana. It had never been reprinted in French nor had it been translated in any other language up to Shea's time. Only a few copies of the original were known to bibliophiles, and Shea decided to translate it in a limited edition of two hundred and fifty copies. A sketch of Father Le Clercq's life and labors prefaces the two volumes, and wherever the text needs it, notes and references to the author's statements are given with Shea's accustomed accuracy and fulness. Few of Dr. Shea's works were so eagerly sought for as this.

In 1881, Dr. Shea prepared a *History of the Church in America* (pp. 313-426) as a supplement to Dr. Brennan's translation of Businger's *Christ in His Church: a Catholic Church History* (pp. 426), which Benziger published that year. The following year appeared Dr. Shea's translation of *The Expedition of Don Diego Dionisio De Peñalosa*, which was to win for him a rare honor, that of being the first American to be elected to the Real Academia de Historia of Madrid.

Other bibliographical data may be added to the account already given for these middle years of Dr. Shea's life. Among these are: the *Early History of the Catholic Church in New England*, which appeared in the *Boston Pilot* in 1856, and which he rewrote and augmented for the *Historical Magazine* (Vol. 5, pp. 313, 391); *Early Missions in Acadia*, which was published in the *Catholic World* for February and March, 1871; the *Early Life of Father Chaumonot*, in the same periodical for August 1872; the *First Attempt to Settle Virginia*, read before the New York Historical Society, October 1, 1872; the *Memoir of Buckingham Smith*, in the appendix to Smith's *Narrative of Alva Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca*, New York, 1873; a long series of articles on the Indian Tribes and discoveries of North America, contributed to Appleton's *American Cyclopaedia*, between 1874 and 1882; *The Log Chapel on the Rappahannock; the first Christian Shrine in the Old Dominion*, in the *Catholic World* for March, 1875; *The Catholic Church in American History*, a Centennial article in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, for the first number, January, 1876; *The Inquisition* (*ibid.*, April, 1876); *What the Church and the Popes have done for the Science of Geography* (*ibid.*, October, 1876); *Discovery of the Mississippi River*, in the *Wisconsin Historical Society Collections* (Vol. 7, p. 111); *Romance and Reality of the Death of Father James Marquette, and the Recent Discovery of His Remains*, in the *Catholic World*, for November, 1877; *What the United States Owes to James II*, in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, for April, 1877; *The Blue Laws of Connecticut* (*ibid.*, July, 1877); *The Jewish Element in the Church—a Proof of its Apostolic Origin* (*ibid.*, October, 1878); *The Catholic Church in the United States in the Recent Translation of Alzog* (*ibid.*, January, 1879); *The Rapid Increase of the Dangerous Classes in the United States* (*ibid.*, April, 1879); *The Canadian Element in the United States* (*ibid.*, October, 1879); *A Pioneer of the West: Rev. Charles Nerinckx* (*ibid.*, July, 1880); *The Earliest Discussion of the Catholic Question in New England* (*ibid.*, April, 1881); and *The Early Franciscan Missions in this Country* (*ibid.*, January, 1882).

On June 25, 1879, St. John's College, Fordham, conferred on John Gilmary Shea the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. He had long been known, however, as Doctor Shea, due to the honor-

ary degree of J. U. D., conferred upon him by St. Francis Xavier College, New York City, on July 7, 1862. Honors, as the historical worker counts them, came frequently from 1860 to 1882 in the shape of election to over twenty-five historical, literary and scientific Societies throughout the country. In many cases, his was the only Catholic name in the register of these Societies.

These middle years of his life were the maturing period of his genius. In 1882, he had reached his fifty-eighth birthday. His health was no better and no worse than it had ever been, and the strange fact in his life, as much a surprise to himself as to his friends, was how he was able, in the midst of so many literary occupations upon which his sustenance and that of his family depended, to accomplish so much of permanent historical value. He had worked in the field of American Catholic history as no American before his time. No fact in the long stretch of years back to the days when Greenland boasted its line of medieval bishops, and even beyond that epoch to the misty legends surrounding St. Brendan and his companions, was unknown to this indefatigable delver into our Catholic past.

Looking backward over these thirty years (1852-1882), much that Dr. Shea wrote seems disparate in nature and uneven in value; but he was providentially guided, for when the day came to go out into the field he had ploughed and planted, there was a harvest awaiting him which no one but himself was able to reap.

CHAPTER VI

THE HARVEST

(1882-1886)

For six years (1876-1882) Dr. Shea had been working away quietly among his papers and documents, putting all his sources in order and planning his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*. As early as September 1876, he had asked Archbishop Bayley, of Baltimore, for a letter of recommendation to all who possessed archival material for his purpose. The Archbishop's letter was a source of much encouragement to Dr. Shea, and it opened many archives to him here and abroad. Two years later (April 26, 1878), he wrote to Cardinal Gibbons who had succeeded Dr. Bayley as Archbishop of Baltimore, and it is evident from his letter that he was far advanced in the composition of his first volume:

"Your Grace:-

"I ascertain that the materials collected during a lifetime of research by the late Rev. Charles I. White, D. D., who honored me with a friendly correspondence maintained for years, are by his will to be deposited, as they should be in all propriety, in the Archives of the Cathedral of Baltimore.

"Laboring myself for years in the same field as that learned priest, I hoped to see his work appear, but years went by, and I at last felt that age would prevent his putting the finishing touches.

"My own studies and collections, interrupted and broken up for some years have been resumed, and I have gone over the English, French and Spanish Colonial period more thoroughly than any one before me, always excepting Dr. White's Maryland collection, which I could not pretend to approach in my researches.

"This will now be under Your Grace's control, and I most respectfully solicit permission to examine it for my *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*.

"Unfortunately I have not enjoyed the advantage of personal acquaintance or correspondence with Your Grace as I have with

your three immediate predecessors, and I apply to Your Grace as comparatively a stranger, almost tempted to enclose a facsimile of a letter of Archbishop Bayley's, which I have used to introduce me to many Archbishops and Bishops in French and Spanish parts. Dr. White's papers are not yet, I presume, in Your Grace's hands, but my request will not, I hope, be deemed premature.

"Your Grace's most ob'd't Servant in Xt

"JOHN GILMARY SHEA."

"Most Rev. James Gibbons, D.D."

Bishop Gilmour of Cleveland was apparently the first of our hierarchy to suggest that Dr. Shea give up all other tasks and be selected by the bishops as official historiographer of the Church in the United States. Dr. Shea was too diffident, however, about his ability to satisfy the bishops in so important a work and preferred as he said to carry it through in a private capacity. "You must not make me *aubulare in magnis aut in mirabilibus supra me*," he wrote to Bishop Gilmour, on April 20, 1882, "for if God wishes me to do the work, I shall accomplish it; but if I am like the Jewish soldiers who went out unbidden, I shall only prove that I was not selected for the work."

A remarkable tribute was paid Dr. Shea at the eighth annual Convention of the Catholic Young Men's National Union, held at Boston, on May 11, 1882. A set of engrossed resolutions, signed by the President of the Union, Bishop John J. Keane, of Richmond, later first Rector of the Catholic University of America, reads as follows:

"Whereas the formation of a sound Catholic literature, especially in the field of history, for the refutation of current errors and the dissemination of right knowledge, is one of the most efficient means of doing honor to the Church of God; and,

"Whereas John Gilmary Shea, LL.D., by his long continued, conscientious, and distinguished labors in this great work, has conferred incalculable benefit on the cause of Catholic truth, and shown himself a model worthy of the imitation of all Catholic men of letters; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That this Convention, in the name of the Catholic young men of the United States, offers him the tribute of its

Elizabeth J. May, 1885.

Your Grace

The encouragement and aid, which you have so generously accorded to my projected history of the Church, in response to the action of the Committee places under new and increased obligations

The sense of my inability to meet as I should desire the confidence placed in me, and the estimate formed of my ability, absolutely discourages me. I feel that I must produce a work that will justify my Patrons in the course they have adopted.

To your Grace in an especial manner, I consider my obligation extreme, as your name comes with all the historic weight of our most ancient See.

Never have I seen so charly that I
must pray and work - ora et labora -
to attain the desired ends

Your Graces
Most Obedt Servant
John Gilmary Shea.

Most Rev James Gibbons D.D.
Archbishop of Baltimore

gratitude for the good he has done and the example he has given, and prays that his career of usefulness and honor may be prolonged yet many years; and

"Be it further resolved, That a certified copy of these resolutions be sent to Mr. Shea, in testimony of our admiration and respect."

Another interesting item belongs to this year. In his *History of the Diocese of Pittsburgh* (New York, 1880), Mgr. A. A. Lambing made use of De Courcy-Shea and of one of the *Relations* published by Dr. Shea without giving him any credit. The letter which he wrote on October 1, 1882, to Mgr. Lambing explains the matter:

"Now let me grumble a little. I was the first one to call attention to the fact that there were in Canada registers kept at French posts in this country, and when Mr. De Courcy was writing his sketches, we got through Hon. Jacques Viger lists of the missionaries at Ft. Duquesne, Ticonderoga, and other points. In writing up the diocese of Pittsburg we used this material. After a time Bishop O'Connor wrote to me to ask me to have the Fort Duquesne Register copied in Canada. I accordingly did so. After another interval in the course of our correspondence, he mentioned the interest I had excited, and the desire of many to copy it. I then offered to print it in my Cramoisy Series of tracts, limited to 100 copies and to give him 30 out the 100. He agreed to my proposal. I printed it, paid the bill and sent him the 30 copies, the 70 going to the subscribers to my series. Now a son of N. B. Craig had the assurance in a note to *Potter's Am. Monthly* to say that his father paid for the printing. He got a copy from me *gratis* and never paid a single cent of the cost of printing. It was printed by Mr. Munsell and I paid his bill, and Craig never paid nor offered to pay anything. He had nothing at all to do with it. In your volume (p. 34) you ignore me entirely and give the impression that Bishop O'Connor had it printed. I need not repeat that this is incorrect. The introduction that you cite was written by me. Subsequently when preparing another of my Cramoisy Series, comprising all the accounts I could gather of the battle of the Monongahela, I had considerable correspondence

with the Beaujeu family, obtained a sketch of his life and his portrait which I engraved. In the course of it I found his name to be Lienard not Leonard. The official copyist at the prothonotary, some mere hack, had evidently blundered. At my request, the Rev. Felix Martin, S.J., compared the copy with the original, and the original register read clearly Lienard. In my tract *Relations Diverses*, I reprinted the entry correctly. The *Registre* as printed is not therefore absolutely to be depended on for the correctness of every word. Now you will admit that I have some reason to grumble. Protestants like Westcott give me credit, but others try to disparage and ignore me. Rev. Mr. Fitton copied thirty pages from me bodily and never mentions me; Rev. Mr. Horstmann takes an article of mine bodily and puts his own name to it. A miserable fellow like O'Kane Murray who never made a week's research, takes my book and rehashes it, and throws a slur on me. Even Mr. Lambing whom I respect, gives me no credit in the matter of the *Register* of Fort Duquesne, or in the supplementary charter, though it was I who called Mr. Cannon's attention to the errors and referred him to Westcott."

Two exceptional honors were conferred on Dr. Shea in the course of the year 1883. The first of these came in mid-Lent, when on Laetare Sunday, the University of Notre Dame singled Dr. Shea out as the most worthy Catholic layman in the United States for the honor of receiving the first Laetare Medal, which had just been instituted. The award was made towards the close of the year 1882, and in accepting the honor, Dr. Shea wrote to Father T. E. Walsh, C.S.C., then President of Notre Dame University:

"Believe me, as I open my letter with the warmest New Year's greetings for yourself and the noble College over which you preside, when I assure you that the holidays alone have given me courage to write.

"My first feeling was one of pride as an American Catholic that an American Catholic Institution should do so much for an American scholar.

"I do not think of myself, for I have never had an ambition, and any reputation I may have acquired is always tempered with

a kind of mild wonder as to its effect on my father had he lived to see the estimate placed on one whom he persistently treated as mentally inferior.

"My first feeling then was one of just pride in Notre Dame. My feeling of personal gratitude came next, and here I fail to find expression. The wish to make the close of my life a peaceful and happy one with congenial minds, in daily intercourse, helping to give even in an humble way a true bent to our young men on whose future so much depends, all this is implied in your offer, and for nothing could I feel more deeply or sincerely grateful. Accept my warmest thanks, and the thanks of my family who feel it as sincerely as I do.

"But to accept the invitation, or to say that I am so situated that I could not easily do so within a reasonable time, I am still unprepared. The kind offer came so suddenly and unexpectedly. I am growing old and have never moved much. The question requires prayer and consideration. I must pray your indulgence for a time till I have weighed the question in all its bearings, before I come to a decision, as I should never forgive myself, if acting hastily I ever caused you to regret your noble offer.

"If the spring opens favorably it will, perhaps, be wise for me to make a pilgrimage to Notre Dame."

Dr. Shea's health did not permit him to make the journey to Notre Dame, and the University deputed Maurice Francis Egan, then with the *Freeman's Journal*, to go to Elizabeth and there to confer the Medal upon him. The following address, prepared by Father Fitte, accompanied the Medal:

HOC
AD MAJOREM DEI O. M. GLORIAM
CATHOLICAE FIDEI AMPLIFICATIONEM
AC PRIMITIVAE AMERICAE FAMAM
D. JOANNI GILMARIAE SHEA
SCRIPTORI HISTORIAE FIDISSIMO
INDEFESSOQUE VERAE RELIGIONIS DEFENSORI
NOSTRAE DOMINAE UNIVERSITATIS
FACULTAS ET ALUMNI
AMICITIAE SEMPER MEMORES
PRECLARUMQUE INGENIUM MIRANTES
EXTRAORDINARIUM AURI NUMISMA
OFFERENDUM
UNANIMITER DECREVERUNT
A. D. 1883

Nos juvat hoc parvum claro transmittere donum
Scriptori: summi pignus honoris erit.
Religio, pietas proavorum gloria libris
Eminuere tuis, nostraque corda movent.
Gesta vales patrum semper narrare fidelis:
Candida sincero scripta colore nitent.
Te sacrae fidei testem mirantur amici;
Extollunt omnes laudibus ingenium.
Quum primos patriae tentas depingere mores,
Simplex majestas grandis ubique micat.
Historiae fideique simul defensor haberis:
Historicum nomen mundus uterque colit.
At mens alta solet famam superare silendo,
Et virtus timido pectore magna latet.
Nostrum est ingenii velum remove modesti,
Praemiaque eximio solvere digna viro.

Roma divinum Tiberim colebat;
Nilus Aegypto sacer et decorum
Maximus, Rhenusque pio coruscat
Flumen honore.

Tu nostrum potius flumen venerabile dicis,
Quod campis late dulcia dona ferat.
Tu rapidum fluvii mavis describere cursum,
Tantaque de vasto munera nata sinu.
"O vitae flumen, regionis et ornamentum,"
Exclamas "O Rex optime, magne Pater!
Salve, terra ferax, oculis ignota parentum:
Europeae veteri jam novus orbis adest!

Quam procul vidit moriens Columbus,
Terra Gallorum genio patebis,
Et feras gentes domuit supremo
Numine Christus"!

Silvicolis coeli mysteria magna sacerdos
Explicat, et Domini munera sacra docet,
Undique vana cadunt veterum simulacra decorum,

Servanturque pio pectore verba Dei.
Nunc "vestem nigram" tenero venerantur amore;
Nunc Christi servos odia summa manent.
Ah! puro quoties rubuerant sanguine rivi
Marytris ah! quoties sanguine silva madet!....

Jure quidem dignas volui persolvere grates:
Multa enim libris sunt monumenta truis.
Hic oculis patriae et fidei observantur imago;
Invenit hic pietas intermerata Deum,
Nec miror NOSTRAE DOMINAE te semper amicum:
Virginis augustae diceris esse cliens.
Ne dubites alios Historiae praestare triumphos:
Namque favet genio SANCTA MARIA tuo!

Dr. Shea replied in a letter and an illuminated address written in Latin:

TO THE FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF
NOTRE DAME

"When a University, which holds the highest rank in the country, and has for more than a generation sent forth its trained Catholic alumni to take their part in the battle of life, decrees her Academic honors, it were rash to impeach her judgment. Yet when a Gold Medal, issued for the first time, was presented to me in your behalf with an address whose purely classic lines were animated by the highest gifts of poesy, the deep emotion that filled my soul could utter but the thought of my utter unworthiness of such a distinction. I could behold in myself no talent, learning or eminent service to religion and science that justified your choice. Love of the Church, love of my country, these indeed I have, and as I have labored animated by them, I receive with the deepest respect the honor you confer upon me, as a tribute to them.

"With deep gratitude and respect, I present to Notre Dame my sincere homage.

"JOHN GILMARY SHEA."

The accompanying address was expressed in elegant latinity, and printed upon parchment beautifully illuminated, with an elaborate arabesque and initial letter. These latter were painted

in colors and gold by Dr. Shea's gifted daughter; and at the same time that the work manifested the artistic talent and execution of the young lady herself, it reflected great credit on the nuns who were her instructors. The whole was enclosed in an elegant framework of rough gold and maroon velvet. It reads as follows:

NOSTRAE DOMINAE UNIVERSITATIS FACULTATI
ET ALUMNIS

Num donis me vultis, amici viventes, opprimere vestris,
Qui mortuos inter perdulci gradier amicos?
Ut quid, relinquere charas vultis me cogere umbras,
In lucem actum, ac Magnum, invitum? Magnos habetis:
NEWTONUM habetis, et virum scientia factisque praeclarum.
Ac medicos inter est EMMET, qui celebrer eminet certe,
Ecquid de CAROLO, legium perito, educam O'CONOR?
Post leges sunt bella,——ita! bellorum ac nobiles duces:
Nobilem ROSECRANS bene ornetis commeritis signis!
Vel etiam artis insigni, LAFARGIO, honorem donate,
Aut CORCORAN illi, theologo, digno merito, laude!
Nostrumque denique, qui dulciter canit ornate!
En viri! En magni! quos juxta, videte, quam tenuis ego!
Jam donum, amici, perenni manebit, pro monito mihi:
Quam longe ab eo consisto, quem me esse putastis.

JOANNES MARIAE SHEA.

The letter to the Faculty, and the address, were accompanied by a collection of the writings of the generous donor, and a copy of the Rheims Testament, with the following autograph letter:

"A copy of the rare original edition of the Catholic Testament translated by the learned Dr. Gregory Martin, alone, and printed at Rheims in 1582; two similar volumes containing the Old Testament were printed at Douay in 1609-10, forming what is known as the Douay Bible.

"As a translation, it is faithful and accurate: it is English of the best period, before the old traditional Catholic terms were forgotten.

"This volume is one to be looked upon with reverence. For generations it could be read in the British Isles only by stealth, as its possession was punishable with death."

To Father Thomas Walsh, the President, Dr. Shea wrote May 16, 1883:

"I have just forwarded to the University a box containing a reply to the elegant poetical address which was presented to me in your name by Mr. Egan.

"One in the daily turmoil of business life has little opportunity to woo the Muses and what my less polished lines lack in the exalted spirit of poetry and in harmony of numbers, will I trust be overlooked for the sake of the illumination in which my daughter's graceful hand has framed it. Nothing could exceed my surprise when Mr. Egan in the name of the University came to present the medal and the richly printed address.

"That I should be singled out for such an honor was entirely unexpected, for though my devotion to Holy Church has been absolute and true, it has not been my privilege to labor, as I would have desired, for her cause. What I have done is little, terribly little. Naming a few in different departments, on any of whom such an honor would have been well bestowed, I forebore to mention one to whom such a testimonial would be eminently due, Mr. McMaster, the oldest, the ablest of our Catholic editors, a man whose long service to the Catholic cause, felt throughout the land, entitle him to the highest place, though his severity of judgment and asperity of manner often prevent us from doing him full justice. In my case your personal friendship on the other hand has, V. Rev. Father, biased your better judgment. The generous and noble proposal already made filled me with concern and this new evidence of your friendship places me in the position of a helpless debtor, utterly unable to meet his enormous obligations. Accept for yourself and your venerable founder, as well as for the University over which you preside, the gratitude of my whole family by whom your name will ever be a cherished one."

On August 31, 1883, John W. Foster, the American Minister at Madrid, sent Dr. Shea the diploma creating him a corresponding member of the Real Academia de la Historia, an honor granted him on June 23 of that year.

The celebrated Letter of Pope Leo XIII to Cardinals De Luca, Pitra and Hergenroether, on *Historical Studies* (August

18, 1883) marks an important division in the history of Catholic historiography. In a young country like the United States it was but natural that the interest in its historic past should be fostered. Among the first to organize a movement towards a society for the study and writing of American Catholic history was Rt. Rev. A. A. Lambing, of the Diocese of Pittsburgh. After the little difficulty mentioned above had been cleared away between Mgr. Lambing and Shea, the latter spared no pains in assisting the Pittsburgh priest in his historical studies. Mgr. Lambing came to Elizabeth in the summer of 1883 and outlined a plan for the formation of an historical society. Guided by Dr. Shea he gathered a few friends around him on February 1, 1884, and organized the Ohio Valley Historical Society. In common with many others, Mgr. Lambing had long felt that too little interest was being manifested by American Catholics in collecting and preserving the records of the past. His plans included a Catholic historical magazine, and he began in July, 1884, the *Historical Researches in Western Pennsylvania principally Catholic*. In July, 1885, the periodical which had then reached its fifth number was changed to *Catholic Historical Researches*. The Ohio Valley Catholic Historical Society was not successful and disbanded after a few years. The *Researches* were purchased by Martin I. J. Griffin, of Philadelphia, and were conducted as a personal quarterly until his death in 1912, when they were merged into the quarterly *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia.

The Philadelphia Society was founded shortly after Monsignor Lambing's venture. A letter was sent out, dated July 4, 1884, to a chosen group of priests and laymen in the city, calling a meeting for the purpose on July 22.

Among those invited to assist in founding the American Catholic Historical Society was Dr. Shea, who replied on July 22, 1884:

"I received this morning as I was leaving for New York your invitation to attend the meeting today for the purpose of organizing a Catholic Historical Society.

"I regret that it was out of my power to join you, but I am sixty today, and feel that I am becoming a mummy or a fossil,

an object for historians and palaeontologists to study out, rather than do any more studying or research myself.

"Your Society aims, I hope, more especially at local work; and there is really enough to be done in every state and almost in every diocese to call for a Catholic Historical Society in each one. The Pennsylvania Historical Society gives you encouragement, and I presume will give an alcove in its rooms for any collections you may form. This would insure their preservation, and be a great point. I suggest this because in my time I have seen collections dispersed and lost merely for want of a suitable place.

"Your endeavor has my heartiest wishes for its permanence and success, and with such experienced workers as Father Jordan, Father Middleton, and Mr. Griffin, the Society cannot fail to give an impulse to investigation and save much precious knowledge from perishing. Too much has already gone.

"There must have been Registers, records, private letters journals, family records of Catholic priests and laymen which were lost because there was none to save them. Is it too late to collect and print the papers of Moylan, FitzSimons and Barry? Are there no journals of Catholic soldiers known besides that of my kinsman, McCurtin? The inscriptions on the grave stones in the old Catholic burial grounds down to, say, 1820, ought to be copied for preservation.

"Your Society will be the pioneer in the good work, and set an example for similar societies in other states. That I may live to see it lead to a general Society or Convention of local Societies, is my earnest wish.

"Expressing my hearty sympathy with your work, and looking forward hopefully to its future, I remain Rev. and dear Sirs, etc."

The organization of the Society was effected and support was immediately given by Archbishop Ryan and leading clergymen and laymen of the city. On August 13, 1884, Dr. Shea wrote to Monsignor Lambing: "They have started a Catholic Historical Society in Philadelphia, and I hope that it will succeed. There is certainly abundant material for them to work upon." After listing the many new aspects of the historical renaissance of 1884, Dr. Shea adds: "I never knew a greater interest to be felt or

shown in the history of Notre Mère la Ste. Eglise Catholique, Apostolique, et Romaine in this part of world. This is extremely gratifying to me, and I trust we can encourage and maintain this feeling." In the earliest history of the Philadelphia Society we find the fact mentioned with considerable pleasure that Dr. John Gilmary Shea had written (December 10), asking to be enrolled as a member and informing the Philadelphia group that the United States Catholic Historical Society was about to be organized in New York City. The officers and trustees of the American Catholic Historical Society made an effort to induce the New York group to co-operate in such a way that one general organization for the country would be formed, but no decision was reached at the time and so both Societies have continued since 1884, as separate groups for the study of national Catholic history.

The founding of the United Catholic Historical Society was due to Dr. Shea's initiative. On October 31, 1884, Dr. Shea wrote to Archbishop Corrigan:

"Dr. Richard H. Clark and myself have long planned a Catholic Historical Society and we think the present a favorable opportunity. If we can obtain Your Grace's consent to preside at a meeting to be held in New York after the close of the Council, some of the Rt. Rev. Bishops known to take an interest would on their way home be able to attend, and clergymen and laymen of historic tastes could be invited. In this way the society would set out under the most favorable auspices as a society for the whole country. The meeting could be held in the vicinity of the Cathedral either at the house of the clergy or in some room in the Orphan Asylum, unless Your Grace suggests some other place."

Dr. Shea wrote on November 26, 1884, to Archbishop Leray, of New Orleans, to say that the first meeting of the proposed Society would be held "on a day to be fixed as soon as we know when the Council will close. We desire especially to be honored by your presence, if you intend to visit New York after the conclusion of your labors in Baltimore. In case this is not possible, will you not give the project your patronage and encouragement? We desire it especially, as Your Grace represents the



ARCHBISHOP M. A. CORRIGAN
NEW YORK

diocese of Louisiana, which when established in 1793 embraced all west of the Mississippi with Florida and the Gulfshore, and was in date second only to the See of Baltimore."

The first meeting was settled for December 9, and Dr. Shea wrote to Archbishop Corrigan: "In accordance with a suggestion of Rt. Rev. Bishop Ireland we fixed the first meeting of the Historical Society for Dec. 9th at 3 P. M. at the office of the Catholic Protectory, 715 Broome St. As Bishop Ireland is President of the Minnesota State Historical we wished his presence at the organization of ours. You will I fear be too much exhausted and fatigued to attend and preside at the meeting; that you may we all desire and solicit but we ask the influence of your name in case we are deprived of the honor of your presence. The project has received such encouragement that we begin to hope for success."

On his return from the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, on December 8, 1884, Dr. Shea and Richard H. Clarke met a number of gentlemen interested in history at a meeting in the Catholic Protectory, in New York City, presided over by John Ireland. Shea, Clarke and Dr. Charles G. Herbermann were the leading spirits of the new Society. "We call our first meeting, as you see," he wrote to Martin I. J. Griffin, on December 2, 1884, "next week. This is, I hope, only the beginning, and similar Societies will arise in many parts, co-operating in the great work of rescuing our past from oblivion, and creating an interest in our noble history."

The second meeting took place on the seventeenth of the same month, and every effort was made by those present to induce Dr. Shea to accept the presidency. He persisted in declining, and Richard H. Clarke was chosen.

For the first two years (1884-1886) little was done, until a publication committee with Dr. Shea as its chairman, decided to issue a quarterly magazine. The first number appeared on January 1887, with the title *The United States Catholic Historical Magazine*. Four volumes were issued up to 1892. The purpose of the *Magazine*, as outlined by Dr. Shea, was "to present to the Catholics of the United States studies on points of the history of the Church by the scholars who were working in various parts of the country to tell the story of the early struggles of priest and

faithful, of heroic effort and often of heroic death. Little has been hitherto done to save and preserve the documents, letters, papers, and other material relating to the progress of Catholicity in the United States."

Dr. Shea not only contributed some of his most valuable studies to the *Magazine* during its existence, but was its editor from 1887 to 1889. Shea was elected president of the Society in 1890. After his death in 1892, interest in the work lagged, and from 1893 to 1897, it "slumbered in a state of coma." Dr. Herbermann became president in 1897, and the annual volumes *Historical Records and Studies* were begun in January, 1899. In the first number Marc F. Vallette published a study on John Gilmary Shea's life and works.

"To write a *History of the Church in the United States* has been the hope and study of my life. The earlier frontier has many unwritten chapters, and of some of these I have but glimpses or faint clues, that may yet lead to fuller knowledge." So Dr. Shea wrote in reply to Bishop Gilmour's encouragement on April 20, 1882. Nevertheless, with all his diffidence over his ability to master the appalling number of questions in American Catholic history which no one had ever treated, he decided to make a supreme effort toward the task, and through the years 1882-1883, along with the never-ending work connected with the Frank Leslie publications of which he still remained editor-in-chief, Dr. Shea began the first volume of his history, which he called *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days the Thirteen Colonies—the Ottawa and Illinois Country—Louisiana—Florida—Texas—New Mexico and Arizona*. The years to be covered by this volume were 1521-1763.

His previous study of over forty years and all he had published furnished him with first-hand material for this volume; and yet he hesitated to begin upon the work of composition. To him the study of the Church in this country was co-extensive with the whole United States. At a dinner given to him in 1883, on the occasion of the Laetare Medal, he said: "The work of Catholics is indelibly engraved on the map of America. Go to our extreme boundary on the north of Maine. It is St. Mary's River. Puritans and Yankees did not give that name. Go to our extreme South, and in Florida we find St. Augustine and San Juan. No

one need be told who gave those names. So on the Pacific coast we have San Francisco and Sacramento, Catholic names again. In Virginia there was a colony of Dominican friars almost one hundred years before Plymouth Rock was discovered."

Maurice Francis Egan writes of Dr. Shea at this time: "Dr. Shea is of a cheerful, genial disposition, ever ready to oblige a friend or stranger who may call on him for information, fond of a joke, and possessed of a wealth of anecdote that makes him excellent company. He is very happily married, and his two daughters share in no small degree the talents of their father." Once Dr. Shea made up his mind that his health and strength would permit him to begin the work, it was upon his daughters that he mostly relied to assist him in carrying it on successfully to an end.

The first thing to do was to fill up whatever gaps there were in his material. Few private libraries in the country were so unique as was Dr. Shea's at this time. Among the twenty odd thousand books, pamphlets, and manuscripts he had collected were many of which he had the only known copy. But to complete the source-material at his hand, he began a correspondence which included scholars of all countries. His letters to members of the American hierarchy aroused a nation-wide interest, and when the prelates met at the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in November-December, 1884, a committee, consisting of four Archbishops (Gibbons, Williams, Corrigan and Ryan) was appointed to co-operate with Dr. Shea in the publication of his important work. In the few letters which passed between the Committee and Dr. Shea that have been preserved, there are two to Cardinal Gibbons which present interesting sidelights on his preparation for the *History*. On May 22, 1884, Dr. Shea writes to the Cardinal:

"Your Grace:-

"Mr. White, brother of the late Rev. Dr. White, called upon me yesterday to ask about allowing Mr. Scharf, the historian, the use of the letters and papers collected by Dr. White for his projected history of our Church. As I recollect it, there is nothing written by Dr. White embodying the result of his long study and it seems to me that the papers ought not to be placed in the

hands of one not likely to understand the affairs of the Church, and not known to be able to use them with discretion.

"There are certainly some papers that it would be injudicious to place where they could be employed mischievously. You will, I trust, pardon me, Your Grace, if I suggest that some one should go through them and make a list, selecting such as might be submitted to his examination. This will also give a memorandum to ensure their return. If there is no one who has the time or is familiar enough with the topics to do this, I will be happy to undertake it, in case the package is sent to me by express at my expense. I will examine them and return them.

"Mr. Murphy wishes me to prepare a volume containing a life and some of the pastorals and other writings of Archbishop Carroll. I feel that it ought to be done and would cheerfully undertake it, but he wishes to issue it before the Plenary Council meets in October. This gives me too brief a time. If he will defer the publication, and I have Your Grace's approval and can obtain access to any diaries he may have kept or other documents in the archives of the See, I shall agree to do my best.

"I have forwarded by express a copy of *Catholic Address to Washington* which I printed privately some years ago.

"Asking for myself and mine Your Grace's blessing, I remain,

"Your most obdt. Servt. in Xt

"JOHN GILMARY SHEA."

In the April and July (1884) issues of the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, Dr. Shea had written two articles on the Councils of Baltimore which attracted considerable attention from the prelates who were to meet in that city in November for the Third Plenary Council. Many letters were sent to Dr. Shea as a consequence, and among them was one from Cardinal Gibbons asking him to draft out a page of statistics for the problem of loss and gain which would undoubtedly be discussed in the Council. Dr. Shea replied from Schooley's Mountain, N. J., on August 10, 1884:

"Your Grace:

"I must apologize for my delay in replying to Your Grace's letter of the 1st. A telegram from Mgr. Seton reached by house in Elizabeth on the 2d, a few hours after a hurried visit I had

paid to it, for I have been taking a vacation for the first time in many years.

"The telegram reached me some days later, but Your Grace's letter only came to my hands yesterday at my house. I selected the Almanacs for several years preceding and following 1866 and notes of population. I made up an approximate estimate for 1865 taking each diocese according to the rate of progress shown these estimates gave a total of 3,939,500.

"A similar calculation for 1866 gave 4,356,000.

"I think therefore that in that year the population was rather over than under four millions. The estimate for New York and Brooklyn has, I am satisfied, been too high for many years, that of Bishop Dubois in 1829 was evidently so.

"There was a rashness in a layman like myself attempting to write on the Councils held in this country, and no one feels his imperfections more sensibly than I do; but I wrote with the view of so depicting the progress and the glory of the Church as to give the younger men who are growing up a sense of pride in corresponding to the grace of faith which they received in baptism. That my efforts can elect from Your Grace such words of approval gives me the consolation that my articles are not deemed presumptuous but calculated to do good.

"The Plenary Council of 1884 will undoubtedly be the last held in my life time and I am anxious to witness some of the public Sessions. I hope to benefit by the strength I am gaining to visit the Catholic Capital of the United States in November to gratify this wish.

"With the deepest veneration and respect

"Your Grace's most obedient servt. in Xt.,

"JOHN GILMARY SHEA."

It was while he was in Baltimore attending the closing public sessions of the Council that the group of prelates already mentioned asked him to meet them for the purpose of discussing a complete history of the Church in this country. The first centenary of the establishment of the See of Baltimore was close at hand (1889) and it was believed by all that the time was propitious for a scholarly review of the hundred years that had passed.

What had been written and published was unsatisfactory. On that all were agreed. Even the De Courcy-Shea *History* which Dr. Shea had brought up to date when he re-issued it in 1879, was but a partial glimpse into the advance made by Catholicism in the United States from Carroll's day to that time. The other *Histories* which had been published by McGee (1855); White (1868); and O'Kane Murray (1876), were popular presentations of Church progress, largely written with an eye upon the political and religious problems of the Irish race. What was needed was a thorough study of all the conditions in which the vigorous young Church of America found itself during its first century of national life, and an impartial narrative of the hindrances, both within and without the fold, to its progress.

John Gilmary Shea had never, in all his long career of forty years in the field of American Catholic history, blinked at the truth. He had never hidden the undesirable facts of our history under platitudes or specious appeals to racial pride. He was trusted by the bishops as probably no other layman before or since his day.

On his return from the Council, it was with the assurance that he would be supported in his work, and he saw in prospect the fulfilment of his life's dream. By March 1, 1885, he was ready to announce the *History* and was able to promise that the volumes would be issued at intervals, the first to appear on May 1, 1886, and the last in not more than five years (May 1, 1890).

His earliest outline included five volumes. The "*History*," he writes, in March, 1885, "as I have planned it, will form five large volumes, to be illustrated, as far as may be, with portraits, facsimiles, representations of early churches, historic sites, relics, etc.; each volume to be complete and independent in itself, with a distinct title and index, but the whole series forming a consecutive and complete narrative——

- I. *The Colonial Church under Spanish, French, and English Flags.*
- II. *Archbishop Carroll and the Establishment of the Hierarchy.*
- III. *The Church in the Atlantic States.*
- IV. *The Church in the Valley of the Mississippi.*
- V. *The Church on the Pacific Coast.*

An appeal was sent out for subscriptions in March 1885, with the following announcement:

"Most of the leisure hours of my life and much of my means have been devoted to studies, as well as to the acquisition of every book, periodical, paper, and document, whose existence I could trace, bearing on the early and actual history of the Church in this country, the efforts of the pioneer Catholics and their clergy, the Indian missions, the organization of the Church under English, French, and Spanish rule, the religious life and discipline that grew up, the vicissitudes of the Church and its ultimate steady development to its present condition.

"It has been the purpose of my life to write this history, hoping that the evening of my days would give me the means and leisure to accomplish the task. Little fitted by studious habits for active business life, I have maintained myself by literary labor comfortably, but no more; and year by year my leisure has been required by work needed for my support, so that a competence on which to retire is now out of the question.

"This disappointment I accept without repining and without a murmur.

"Recently some of the Most Rev. Archbishops and Right Rev. Bishops, with several of the Clergy, have, unexpectedly to me, taken the matter into consideration, regarding it as important for the Church in this country that the knowledge of the subject acquired by so many years of study should be published and made accessible; they have debated on the best means of securing me the necessary leisure, and of completing my collections, where printed or manuscript matter becomes accessible."

There was no lack of encouragement. Cardinal Gibbons was a constant source of support to the venerable historian, and the letters which passed between them, almost up to the day of Dr. Shea's death, are a glimpse into a little known side of James Gibbons' character.

Dr. Shea wrote on May 1, 1885: "The encouragement and aid which you have so generously accorded to my projected History of the Church in response to the action of the Committee places me under new and increased obligations. The sense of my inability to meet as I should desire the confidence placed in me, and the estimate formed of my ability, absolutely discourages me.

I feel that I must produce a work that will justify my Patrons in the course they have adopted. To Your Grace in an especial manner, I consider my obligation extreme, as your name comes with all the historic weight of our most ancient See. Never have I seen so clearly that I must pray and work—*ora et labora*—to attain the desired end.”

Second only to Cardinal Gibbons was the support of Archbishop Corrigan of New York. Michael Augustine Corrigan had been coadjutor-Archbishop of New York from 1880 until the death of Cardinal McCloskey on October 10, 1885. Around Archbishop Corrigan was a small group of priests whose interest in Dr. Shea's project was as keen as his own. Among these were: Monsignors Quinn, Preston, and Edwards of New York; Father John M. Farley, who succeeded Dr. Corrigan in 1902 and became the second Cardinal of New York in 1911; Rev. Patrick Corrigan of Hoboken; and Messrs. Eugene Kelly, William R. Grace, and many others. Interest was not confined to New York, however, but if any one among all those who have been or might be mentioned, deserves to be honored as Dr. Shea's most generous and most intelligent adviser and supporter, it is Archbishop Corrigan. Few members of the American hierarchy of the day possessed his wide knowledge of the inner history of the Church in the United States; and it was Dr. Corrigan's great patience, and patience, indeed, was necessary with a scholar embarking on so broad an expanse as the history of the Catholic Church in the United States from 1492 to the then present, that carried the work of Shea to completion and to success.

Dr. Shea wrote to his Maecenas on May 1, 1895:

“I called to thank you in person for the interest Your Grace has taken in the project to enable me to devote myself to writing the *History of the Church*. But for Your Grace's direction and influence little I am certain would have been effected but with it all difficulties seemed to vanish.

“The confidence felt in me and the result that you and the kind patrons, who, led by Your Grace's influence, have cooperated, may justly expect at my hands, have completely discouraged me now that I am brought face to face with the task. The last week has been one of the most miserable of my life so

easily am I depressed. I have set to work studying up the whole field to learn first what the great deficiencies of material are and where to look for the information to supply them. Sabin's *Dictionary of Books relating to America* with nearly 100,000 titles and the Catalogues of all great libraries will be thoroughly examined that nothing in print may escape me. Collections of documents in public and private depositories are less easily reached but many will be accessible. For those in the archives of dioceses which formerly had jurisdiction over parts of this country I need a letter to the present Archbishop or Bishop. Enclosed is a facsimile of a hand that you recognize, my warm and kind friend Archbishop Bayley. That letter opened to me many avenues of research. If a similar letter of introduction in the name of His Eminence signed by Your Grace, also by the Most Rev. Archbishop of Baltimore, can be drawn up in which it would appear that I am now at work under the direct sanction of such members of our Hierarchy, I would reproduce it and feel assured that every facility will be afforded me."

On June 20, 1885, he wrote to Cardinal Gibbons:

"In my work on the *History* which I have undertaken, I have arranged all my material for the colonial part and sketched out the narrative, and I have done the same for the *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, but of course less fully. The late Archbishop Bayley informed me that there was a considerable collection of documents relating to the early Jesuit missions in Maryland which had remained there from the times of Archbishop Carroll. From other sources where incidental mention was made of them, I infer that they contain much that will be of great importance for my work, in order to correct and enlarge my sketch. For the life of Archbishop Carroll himself the material in Your Grace's archives is the main source. It is therefore to ask Your Grace most respectfully when it will be convenient for me to examine the earlier documents that I may arrange to visit Baltimore and spend some time at the work.

"There are many points also in regard to which I desire guidance in order to avoid giving ground for reviving vexed questions and confining myself to statements that cannot be disputed."

How thoroughly Dr. Shea examined the Baltimore Cathedral

Archives is well-known to all who have worked among these precious papers of our Catholic past. Dr. Shea brought to the work of research a knowledge of American Catholic history which no other scholar has ever possessed, and his notes and comments sometimes on separate sheets of paper, sometimes on the back of the document itself, have often proved invaluable for later students in the same field.

The period of discovery and colonization (1492-1690) he had thoroughly covered in his *Catholic Missions* and in his translation of De Courcy. The colonial period of provincial America and the struggle for the Mississippi Valley (1690-1763) had been equally mastered. The hazy epoch of our Revolution and the faint beginnings of Catholic organization after the Treaty of Paris (1763-1784) were still to be cleared up with documentary material. The national period, or the period of the Church in this country under an established hierarchy, from Carroll's acceptance of the Prefecture-Apostolic in 1785 to his own day, Shea knew in broad and concise outlines. But for all these epochs, he needed documents and more documents.

Archbishop Corrigan and his Secretary, the future Bishop of Brooklyn, Dr. Charles E. McDonnell, used their influence to open to Dr. Shea the closed Archives of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide. Brother Henry Foley, who wrote on November 5, 1885, that "in my present state, you must consider me as a dead man," had handed over his request for documents from the Stonyhurst Archives, to Father John Morris, S. J., and to a young scholastic, who was later to become one of England's from the Stonyhurst Archives to Father John Morris, S. J. Lord Arundel of Wardour wrote, in an almost undecipherable script, valuable notes on the Baltimore family and on the early projects of English Catholic colonization in the New World. Richard R. Elliott was indefatigable in searching out data for the history of the French in and around Detroit. Archbishop Leray, of New Orleans, was unsparing in his efforts to bring light into the confusing story of the rise of the Diocese of New Orleans. The members of the Society of Jesus, to which John Gilmary Shea had once belonged, were generous in allowing him access to their private archives, in order that nothing should escape his notice. The Loretto Sisters of Kentucky, the Daughters of Charity of

Cincinnati, and the Ursulines of Brown County, Ohio, sent him papers and periodicals, without which he could not have penned his story of the Church in the Middle West.

If ever, in the history of history-writing in the United States, a scholar held a nation-wide interest in his work, that scholar was John Gilmary Shea. Financially, he was to lose rather than to gain by the publication of the five volumes of his *History*, but in ways that could not be measured by money, he awakened in the hearts of Catholic priests and laymen all over the land an interest in our Catholic past which has lasted till our own day and has been the source of inspiration to thousands since his death.

To Doctor Charles E. McDonnell, Dr. Shea wrote on September 17, 1885, asking him to facilitate further investigations in the Propaganda Archives. William Maziere Brady, who had included some important documents on America in his *Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland and Ireland* (1876), and upon whom Dr. Shea depended to direct the search at Propaganda, had left for Australia with Cardinal Moran. In the emergency, Doctor McDonnell's acquaintance with the Roman officials proved valuable and Dr. Shea was able to secure the documents he needed.

On September 21, 1885, Dr. Shea wrote to Archbishop Corrigan:

"How can I thank you for your kindness in again addressing the Secretary of the Propaganda. Mr. Maziere Brady had access to documents giving some light on our Maryland Missions and I hoped to obtain from him more information than he printed. The connection of events seemed so probable that I could not refrain from asking to see whether the papers examined by Mr. Brady did not contain more. From England, though I fail to obtain any details as to the Franciscans, information comes very unexpected to me in regard to projects of Catholic colonization before Lord Baltimore and there is every reason to believe that the famous voyage of Sir Humphrey Gilbert in Queen Elizabeth's reign is connected with a Catholic project, and that a plan formed at a later day was defeated by the famous Jesuit Father Persons, although supported by the brave Lord Arundel of Wardour.

That the early Franciscan Mission in Maryland is not altogether imaginary is proved by two facts recently elicited, one, that in 1712, and some years before, Lord Baltimore allowed them 1000 lbs. of tobacco a year, and the other that a library in Maryland has two books bearing the name. It must not be supposed that Father Haddoc was such a smoker that he required an allowance of three pounds a day; in justice to the old missionary I will add that all values in Maryland were then estimated in tobacco. The Minister of the established Church received from every person Catholic as well as Protestants 40 lbs. of tobacco every year. There are complaints extant from these worthy gentlemen that, as the law did not fix the quality to be delivered, most that came to their hands was very bad. I do not suppose that a Catholic so taxed would pick out the best of his stock of tobacco to pay so unjust a tax."

Again on November 19, 1885, Dr. Shea writes:

"With the most sincere feelings of regard and respect I congratulate you on your succession to the see of New York, to which notwithstanding my long residence in New Jersey I feel a native allegiance. No one can more earnestly wish you a long administration full of consolation to yourself and profit to all.

"As an offering of my fealty in the future and a mark of gratitude for the past I have taken the liberty of forwarding to Your Grace some of my historic contributions of which I beg your acceptance.

"By your kindness I heard with deep interest your sermon at the Month's Mind of his late Eminence. The striking virtue which characterized him, his singular prudence, had impressed me deeply, although I did not know some facts stated by Your Grace; but they called up to my mind two books of P. S. Casserly, one denouncing Dr. Pise with all the violence that marked that learned man and practical Catholic, the other his translation of Thomas à Kempis' *Garden of Roses* with a dedication to Rev. John McCloskey.

"In a visit to Philadelphia I went carefully through Father Farmer's registers, and have since studied carefully the route of his visits to New Jersey in regard to which there had been more conjecture than research. With old maps and books I think that

I can trace every visit accurately. There is absolutely no proof whatever that he ever visited New York before the Revolution. At Quebec, I discovered two curious facts which can probably be made clear by documents in the Propaganda. One is that after La Salle descended the Mississippi river with the Recollect Fathers, as detailed in Le Clercq, application was made and supported by Louis XIV to have Vicariates-Apostolic established in the Mississippi Valley, and that the Pope actually did erect them. When Bishop St. Vallier of Quebec learned of this, he protested against the dismemberment of his diocese, declaring that the Mississippi had been discovered by Father Marquette, a priest of his diocese, and Louis Joliet, a pupil of his seminary. Louis XIV had appointed a committee consisting of some French Bishop and his confessor Père La Chaise who reported in favor of the Bishop of Quebec and the Pope then suppressed the Vicariates.

"The document unfortunately gives no dates, and does not name the Vicariates or those appointed, whom I suspect to have been Recollects. The other fact is that after the Conquest of Canada, a request was forwarded to Rome by some one asking that the Bishop of Quebec be empowered to administer confirmation in Maryland and Pennsylvania. I found a letter of the Cardinal-Prefect to Bishop Briand in regard to the matter, and it is the first act I have ever seen or heard of showing any direct attention of the Propaganda to the affairs of these colonies, although doubtless they were treated incidentally in connexion with the English mission. The Jesuit Father George Hunter visited Canada soon after the Conquest and the representation to Rome may have arisen from some report made by him. If I have not taxed your kindness and condescension beyond all tolerance I make a note of what might be looked for at the Propaganda. Both points will be evidence of the control of the missions in this country by the Propaganda, which may hereafter be valuable."

Another letter, dated December 1, 1885, to Archbishop Leray of New Orleans, shows how the first volume of the *History* was proceeding:

"In compliance with the wish of several Archbishops and Bishops and encouraged by the subscription made in advance I

have been working in earnest at the *History of the Church* in this country most of this year. The first volume includes all down to 1783. For the part in the English colonies I have collected all material that I can trace and most of the narrative is written. For the Spanish part I have most encouraging success for Florida, Texas, and New Mexico. The French part touches Maine, and of which I have much, some hitherto unknown. For the Mission in New York I have also abundant material. For Michigan, Wisconsin and Illinois my documents are also rich. But for Louisiana, I now appeal to Your Grace. My first published work in 1853 was on the *Discovery of the Mississippi* by Father Marquette followed by the Recollect Fathers under La Salle. I have Iberville's Voyage, in which he was accompanied by a Recollect and Jesuit. Some years ago I printed letters from Messrs. Montigny and his associates, sent out from the Seminary of Quebec by St. Vallier, with his Lordship's act founding the Mission.

"I have Abp. Taschereau's history of that Mission which finally centered at Tamarois in Illinois. This includes the very curious history of Rev. M. Le Maire's coming to Louisiana.

"I have recently discovered a protest of Bp. St. Vallier against the action of the Pope who erected some Vicariates-Apostolic in the Mississippi Valley, which on his protest were suppressed. Investigation is now in progress at Rome to find all about this. For the Jesuit Mission there are letters in the *Lettres Edifiantes*, the *Bannissement des Jesuites de la Louisiane* and a few letters recently found. My great want is documents to give anything like a connected sketch of the history of the Church among the settlers of Louisiana while the Capuchin Fathers were in control. There is nothing in the Archives at Quebec either in the Arch-*evêché* or the Seminary. Will Your Grace permit your Rev. Secretary to inform me what the archives of your See can supply? 1. Are there any reports, sketches or statements made by Capuchins between 1725 and 1783? 2. Are there any documents by Rt. Rev. Cyril de Barcelona, Bishop of Tricali, who, as auxiliary Bishop, administered that portion of the diocese of Cuba and, after its division, of St. Christopher of Havana from 1776 to 1793? 3. At what date do the oldest Registers begin and are they perfect from the beginning? 4. Is the Bull erecting the

Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas (1773) preserved in the archives? 5. Which are the oldest parishes outside New Orleans and which of them have ancient Registers?

"If your Grace will permit your Rev. Secretary to have an examination made I will meet all expense: and I can then know what material I can hope to obtain for my work. I wish to make it full and faithful for every part of the country: and feeling that my material is not complete for Louisiana, I beg Your Grace's favor and indulgence."

The daily journeys from Elizabeth to New York were used in collating all the source-material which had arrived, and, every available moment that could be spared from his duties as editor was used to compose the rough outline of the work on which he was engaged. After his return to his home in the evening, a short time was given to his family and then the long hours of writing were begun. About midnight one of his daughters would persuade him to take a small repast, and after that he was left to work, sometimes until the dawn appeared. Fortunately, Mrs. Shea was an excellent manager, for her husband never could understand domestic affairs. All in all the situation was ideal for a scholar who was practically absorbed in his work.

CHAPTER VII

THE "HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES"

1886-1892)

By November, 1886, the first volume of the *History* was in type and was eagerly watched for by the patrons of the work as well as by all who were interested in Catholic American history. "The work which I have endeavored to do carefully and conscientiously," Shea writes in the preface of this volume, "has cost me more labor and anxiety than any book I ever wrote; it has caused me not seldom to regret that I had undertaken a task of such magnitude. To my fellow-students of American history, from whom I have for so many long years received encouragement, sympathy, and aid, I submit my work with some confidence, trusting to their past courtesy and kindness. From those of my own faith I ask forbearance, hoping that the volume may prove of some service till a writer with a clearer head for research, more patience in acquiring the necessary books and documents, and greater knowledge and skill in presenting the results affords the Catholics of the United States a book adequate to the subject."

The first volume was issued under the title *The Catholic Church in the Colonial Days* (1521-1763), and is divided into four books, each of which is again divided into three parts: the Catholic Church in the (a) English, (b) Spanish, (c) French colonies or territories. In reality the volume is made up of three sections, devoted to the three chief colonizing nations, England, Spain and France, with two chronological divisions common to the three sections: 1500-1690; 1690-1763. A certain amount of confusion arises from the plan followed by Dr. Shea; but it was, and still is, the only logical method of treating in a general fashion so large a subject.

On its appearance, the welcome it received removed all doubts from Dr. Shea's mind. It was recognized as a splendid achievement; and in the hearts of all his friends there was but one thought, one prayer, namely, that Dr. Shea might be spared to complete the great task he had begun.

Two years were to pass, crowded with many anxieties, financial and family troubles, and his own fitful spells of exhaustion, before the second volume, *The Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, was ready for the press. To Monsignor (Cardinal) Farley, he wrote on October 18, 1888:

"Rt. Rev. Dear Friend:

"*The Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll* is, as you know, ready; and it has cost me great labor, absorbing all my leisure and impairing my health seriously. It covers an important period, and really the history of the Church during it has not hitherto been known. Not only are errors and misrepresentations corrected, but whole chapters are new contributions.

"I have made the volume so large and expensive, that I am in considerable debt: and I see no way except to have another appeal for patrons of the work. There have been eight deaths, and there were when I issued the volume eight delinquents, some of whom wish to withdraw altogether.

"By making up a list of 250 prominent Catholics in the United States, it seems to me that 25 or 30 new patrons ought to be secured. With that number I can complete the work without anxiety.

"With many thanks for all your kindness in the matter I remain

"*Your deeply obliged friend and servt.,*

"JOHN GILMARY SHEA."

Among those upon whose assistance Dr. Shea particularly depended for his *Carroll* was the late Father E. I. Devitt, S. J., then at Woodstock College. Dr. Shea wrote on April 16, 1888, to the Jesuit historian:

"I have been hoping to get down to Woodstock, but see no immediate prospect of paying you a visit. I am closing up the *Life of Archbishop Carroll* and have some difficulties. I can find no facts about the opening of Georgetown College in 1791 or anything about it till the characteristic display made by Rev. M. Du Bourg when he retired. I hoped to find something in Father Summer's articles, but after giving the Proposals he bounds over to Du Bourg's resignation. I could not find any letters at Baltimore addressed to Bp. Carroll in regard to the College or its progress. In his letter to his friends I find only passing allusions

generally showing that the management did not act in conformity with his ideas and referring to its want of success.

"Of Rev. Mr. Plunkett I find no letters, reports, circulars.

"Can you help me to any facts in regard to the College before its incorporation or indeed before Father Grassi gave it new life? I am equally in the dark as to the foundation of Holy Trinity Ch., Georgetown, and cannot find when or by whom it was begun.

"As to the first Church in Washington City I have only a few vague notes.

"In the process of Abp. Marechal against the Maryland mission I find he refers to some brief of 1789 as giving the Bishop of Baltimore control. I know no brief but that erecting the See of Baltimore that gives the Bishop the right to administer ecclesiastical revenue, but I cannot believe he rested his claim on that. Do you know any brief of 1789 referring to the property of Maryland? You once kindly informed me that there were several books in Woodstock Library printed in this country before 1820 which Finotti had not included. I enclose a list of the earlier ones known to me, and if you can add other titles I shall feel grateful. In the list those with x I have in my collection. As Spring gets on I do hope to pay you a visit."

On October 1, 1888, Dr. Shea sent out to his patrons a printed announcement, stating that "owing to protracted ill-health, the second volume of my *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, embracing the *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll* has been delayed till the present time." That same week, he wrote to Cardinal Gibbons:

"My health since Spring has been such that work on my history has been almost impossible. At last, however, I am relieved by seeing the *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll* sent off to Your Eminence and others who have kindly patronized the undertaking. With much hitherto unpublished documents regarding him and his acts personally, I have blended the history of the Church in the country to 1815, and I trust have added much. There were subjects that required care, but I endeavor to give facts plainly, leaving them to act as warnings, and avoiding as far as possible any judgments that will excite discussion.

"There are many curious points: the French intrigue to put the Catholics here under a Bishop in France; Bp. Burke's project of a Vicariate-Apostolic in the Northwest; the Prefecture Apos-

tolic of Scioto; and the absurd proposal of a Bishop at Oneida. The mission work of the Sulpitians is at last told with some detail and it was needed, for many seemed to think they never did anything except conduct the seminary at Baltimore.

"I hope that the volume will by your approval justify the encouragement which Your Eminence has given me."

Cardinal Gibbons again came generously to his aid in order that no delay should prevent the appearance of the third volume. In thanking His Eminence (October 10, 1888), Dr. Shea said: "I hope that your impression of my *Life of Abp. Carroll* will equal your favorable anticipation. The state of the Church in the whole country, the difficulties which retarded its progress, and Carroll's great work in harmonizing, stimulating, and accomplishing much with the feeblest resources, will be better known, and the labors of the pioneer priests, though many left no record but a name, will be better understood."

To Father Patrick Corrigan, who was a constant source of encouragement, he wrote on October 15, 1888: "After a protracted period of ill-health caused by overwork I am able to send out the second volume of my *History*. It will enlighten many as to our early struggles. My researches throw light on several points: Bp. Challoner's efforts to give us a Bishop; the Catholic Chaplains in the Continental Army; England's failure to raise a Catholic regiment here; Bancroft's libels; the French intrigues to subject the Church here to a Court Bishop in France; the indictment and trial of Rev. J. Cheverus in Maine."

The second volume of his *History* was even more successful than the first. The times were almost within the memory of many who were still living. By that period, on account of the many assemblies of the bishops at Baltimore between 1829 and 1884, the figure of John Carroll loomed up in the Catholic life of the United States as did that of George Washington in its political history. John Carroll had stood, as Dr. Shea wrote at the time, "as a noble and central figure for nearly thirty years (1785-1815) of that half-century as the controlling and guiding mind in the affairs of the Church." To all the friends who had aided him thus far in his researches, he now added the revered name of Father A. L. Magnien, then Superior of the Sulpicians in this country, and that of a brilliant newcomer in the field, Professor James

Farnham Edwards, of Notre Dame University, to whom we owe the valuable collection known as the Catholic Archives of America, now housed in that institution.

The *Life of John Carroll* runs along more smoothly than the first volume, since there is no break in the chronology. There is a charm about the style and a warmth to the pages that disclose how near its author had come to the heart of the Father of the American hierarchy. Dr. Shea had one keen regret at this time: that he had not begun to write our Catholic history earlier in life. "Attempting now to write history," he says, "I regret often and bitterly that I did not begin in boyhood to do what you have done so well. I knew some of the little body who began the first Catholic congregation in New York City, and might have filled notebooks with details."

Before the end of the year 1889, Dr. Shea had accepted the editorship of the *Catholic News*, of New York City, and in this post, week-by-week, he filled its editorial page with so many historical facts, gathered in the course of a life-time of study, that this weekly journal must be given a place of first importance in the source-material of that part of Catholic history which Dr. Shea did not treat.

One of these editorials (June 8, 1890), should be known by every child in our Catholic schools. It is entitled: *Sources of the Catholic History of the Country*:

"The Catholic history of the country begins with the earliest explorers by sea and land. For many years these were all Catholic: Cabot, Verrazzano, Gomez, Ponce de Leon, Pineda on the coast; Cabeza de Vaca, Father Mark of Nice, Coronado in the interior, were all Catholics. All bore with them their Catholic Faith and the services of the Catholic Church. Our first chapter is to be sought in the record of these expeditions. Here we can trace the Catholic names given to points on the coast from Ste. Croix, or Holy Cross River, to Corpus Christi. When settlements were attempted, the first were made by Catholics. Ponce de Leon in Florida, Ayllon on the James River in Virginia, Tristan de Luna at Pensacola, Menendez at St. Augustine, Oñate at Santa Fé, Champlain at Neutral Island. All were Catholic and their history is to be traced in the Spanish annalists like Barcía, in the history of religious orders, in documents in the Spanish archives,

in the works of Champlain, the Relations of New Mexico. Is all mention of these settlements excluded from general histories of the United States and even State histories from ignorance or prejudice? Why do they suppress all mention of them? If Catholics try to bring forward some real true history they are denounced. Evidently some people love ignorance better than knowledge.

"When English settlements were made on the coast Catholics settled in Maryland. Their history is a noble one, but how, of late years, men have strained their ingenuity to falsify it! There is not a baser chapter in American literature than the malignant efforts to decry the Calverts and the early Maryland Catholics and deprive them of their just glory. Before 1829 not a syllable was uttered, but when Catholic emancipation was extorted in England, Protestants began to try to show that Protestantism had always been the very pink of toleration, and to consign the penal laws to oblivion. The real history of early Maryland is to be read in the Relations, in Father White's *Narratio*, in the Foley Documents, and in the terrible penal laws which cannot be blotted out of the statute book, in the published Archives, and in unpublished documents. The laws of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia show the infamous penal laws of those colonies, the war on Catholic education, industry, civil rights and, we might almost say, existence. To the North, West and South we trace Catholic progress in the Jesuit Relations, the Narrative of Marquette, of La Salle and his companions, Membé and Hennepin, in brave Iberville and stout Penecaut, in the printed works of Dumont, Le Page du Pratz, Bernard de la Harpe; in works on New Mexico, Benavides, Lopez, Salmeron, Morfi, Siguenza, in Palou's *Life of Serra* and his larger narrative, in the lives of venerable Anthony Margil and in unpublished documents. Later still, when the Catholics of the country were placed under a single head and a single organization, the works of Catholic priests and Catholic laymen are to be sought in hundreds of sources, and depositories too many to enumerate in an article.

"Now, what history of the United States used in schools shows even inadequately the progress of the Catholic element from the earliest days to its present attitude, when one-sixth of the whole population belongs to it? In the books used in the Protestant

Public Schools, the Catholic element is studiously ignored or maliciously misrepresented. More space is given to the religion of the Separatists and Puritans of New England, misrepresented to suit the times, than is even given to the Catholic, in the whole country, for a period extending from 1813 to 1890, and geographically extending from the whole Atlantic seaboard to the shores washed by the Pacific. Poet and artist seek inspiration in Catholic annals, but they are studiously ignored by those who profess to give history. History!"

The work on the third volume, which was to carry the story of the Church from 1815 to 1844, went on side-by-side with the examination of the proofs of *Carroll*. The New Year, 1889, brought him another unique honor. He had rescued from what was practically oblivion hundreds of facts which enhanced the renown of John Carroll among Americans generally, and among these facts was Carroll's part, as principal, in the founding of Georgetown College. The centenary of this venerable school came that year, and early in January, Dr. Shea received a letter from Father J. Havens Richards, S. J., then President of Georgetown University, telling him that the authorities had decided to confer upon him a medal in honor of his *Life of Archbishop Carroll* and suggesting that he write a centenary *History of Georgetown College*. Father Richards wrote:

"I have the honor of announcing to you that it is the desire of our Faculty to confer upon you, at our coming Centennial celebration, the degree of Doctor of Laws. We are aware that this distinction has already been bestowed upon you by another institution, but we wish to add the approbation of our University to this testimony of your learning and the immense value of your historical and linguistic labors. For this purpose, no time would seem more appropriate than the occasion on which we are to celebrate the first Century of Catholic higher education in the United States, a period on which your pen has shed so much light.

"It is our intention also to recognize the merit of your last work on the 'Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll' and its connection with the founding of our own University, by striking a gold medal, to be presented to yourself on the day of the Academic Session, February 22, 1889, which is the third day of the Centennial exercises. If it pleases you to accept this testimony of

our esteem and gratitude, I should like you to have taken immediately, at our expense, by some good photographer, several photographs of yourself, (bust only), from different positions, say front, profile, three quarters, etc. Especial care must be taken that the photographer do not tamper in any way with the lines of the negative so taken. They usually obliterate all the fine and characteristic lines of the face on the pretence of beautifying it. If the 'Laetare' medal awarded you some years ago by the University of Notre Dame has a medallion portrait upon it, we should be pleased to see it also.

"I trust that you will pardon my entering into these details. My excuse is the close proximity of the celebration, which will render the promptest action necessary."

In reply, Dr. Shea said:

"I have been laid up since the 2nd with a broken knee pan, ruptured ligaments, and bruises, the result of a fall stepping from an ill-constructed elevator in New York.

"Your letter reached me only last evening. I have been greatly interested in the coming Centenary of Georgetown University, though Providence did not guide me to its walls for stores of learning.

"Though a pretty hard student through life, I left school at 13, and academic honors always seem to me misfit on my brow, but I leave that matter to the Faculty.

"But the matter of the medal is distinctly personal and while I feel deeply honored by the wish of the Faculty, it is something I never expected. I never had an ambition, and at my age, especially in a position when I can *recogitabo annos meos in amaritudine animae meae*, I ought to think rather of the future *quinto è già il corso della vita mea*. I have led a sort of three-fold existence, known to many scholars in the country as one versed in American history, especially the French and Spanish period, Indian languages, ethnology and antiquities; to Catholics, as a writer historical and otherwise; and to a third set as an editor in New York whose name does not appear; and yet few are aware that the three are the same person. Others again know me as a bibliographer.

"I am trying to bear my confinement cheerfully, but I am afraid that my accident will make it impossible for me to be with you

next month, as I fully intended to do unless you actually shut the door on me.

"It is my second disappointment of 1889. From the moment a pilgrimage to the Holy Land was proposed, I planned to go, but my two volumes have left me with such a host of obligations, that some months ago I reluctantly gave up all hope.

"If now I am to be denied this second Catholic pleasure I must make an act of resignation; but I shall feel that Georgetown University, the grand old Catholic column of learning, would welcome me and seek to honor me for my ordinary deserts.

"I trust the auspicious days will draw out much of the storied past that I could not reach, and enable me to make future editors of the *Life of Archbishop Carroll* treat more adequately the origin and early days of Georgetown."

The accident to which Dr. Shea refers happened on January 2, 1889, when on leaving a meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society, he lost his footing while entering an elevator in the Trinity Building at 111 Broadway, New York City. Falling he injured his kneecap and ruptured one of the ligaments of his left leg. An ambulance was summoned and he was taken to the Chambers Street Hospital. The following day, he was brought to his home in Elizabeth, and telegrams soon began to arrive from his many friends, who feared that the accident would end his work on the *History*. He never fully recovered from the fall, and it was months before he could resume his post as editor of the Leslie publications. When he was ready to go back, he found that he had been superseded and forgotten. On February 4, 1889, he wrote Archbishop Corrigan, appending to his letter a list of the documents he wished to procure in the Propaganda Archives. His accident had increased his financial difficulties and he was greatly in debt at the time. A circular, which he issued brought him twenty more patrons, and with this lightening of his obligations, he wrote to the Archbishop:

"Accept my sincere thanks for your kind and encouraging letter, and my heartiest wishes and prayer for your prosperity. In the period which I am now studying (1815-1844) we have in this country very few documents for the first 15 or 20 years. There are no records of Bp. Connolly's or Bp. Egan's time, few of Bp. Conwell's, except those relating to the Hogan matter, absolutely

nothing of Bp. Kelly's career as Bishop of Richmond. My only hope beyond chance facts picked up at random, is that some of the Rt. Rev. Bishops made reports on the state of their dioceses to the Prefect of the Propaganda. I annex a list which has a formidable look yet may bring only five or six reports. After the Catholic newspapers began and the *Annals* of the Propagation appeared, material became more accessible. Naturally I have been interested to give as full an account of Bishop Connolly's administration and life as I can. I have several letters and pamphlets but nothing official. If the \$20 forwarded by Dr. McDonnell is not enough to cover the cost of making the copies I will remit whatever is needed. Burdened as you are with the care of a great diocese with so much to add to your cares and anxieties, I felt deeply reluctant to trespass on your kindness. Thanking you with all my heart for your constant protection and encouragement, I am with deep and sincere respect."

Archbishop Corrigan left soon afterwards for Rome, and while visiting the officials of the Sacred Congregation, then the head of all the American missions, he was enabled to arrange for the transcription of many of the documents Dr. Shea needed. All this took more money than Dr. Shea could afford. He had been given a set-back in 1886, when after all the business matters connected with his first volume were settled, he found that he had lost over fifteen hundred dollars by the publication of the book. His salary as editor was barely sufficient for the support of his little home, and now that the accident of January, 1889, had weakened his physical condition, he felt that he had fallen upon evil days. Sensitive to a high degree in all such matters, few outside his home knew the straits to which he was put to meet his current obligations, and on May 21, 1889, he wrote to Archbishop Corrigan the following note which tells plainly the position in which he was:

"Your Grace,

"In full consciousness of the many calls upon your time and thoughts I am most reluctant to make a personal appeal; but I am in a sore strait. When the matter of the *History of the Church* was proposed, it was suggested that I should withdraw from Leslie's establishment. This I was reluctant to do, as I regarded my position secure and permanent, but I leaned upon a

straw. Leaving a meeting of the Committee of the Catholic Historical Society on the 2nd of January, I fell in stepping from an ill-constructed elevator and so injured my knee that I have been laid up and am now barely able to get about on crutches and even with them dare not attempt to walk in the street. During my enforced absence from the office, advantage was taken of this; although I continued to keep up my work. The prominence given to me directly and indirectly by my *History* prompted hostility, and I have recently been deprived of my position, a mere temporary position at a pittance being offered me.

"Nothing would be more congenial to me than Church work and if there be any position in the Chancery Office, Calvary Cemetery Office, or in connection with any of the institutions, where I could be sure of a moderate salary I should be only too grateful to Your Grace for enabling me to obtain it.

"I am able to work and willing. My aspirations are not high: and I do not ask to be a mere pensioner. If I can obtain a position in New York where I can earn my living, I can devote my leisure to the completion of the *History*, but if I am thrown upon precarious pieces of work, my labor on it must of necessity be fitful and uncertain. I commend the whole matter to Your Grace's kind consideration, and I feel certain from the friendly interest you have always manifested in me, that you will not feel offended at my thus intruding my private troubles on your attention. It was with great reluctance that I now address you, and do so only after efforts made in various directions, which have tended to discourage me.

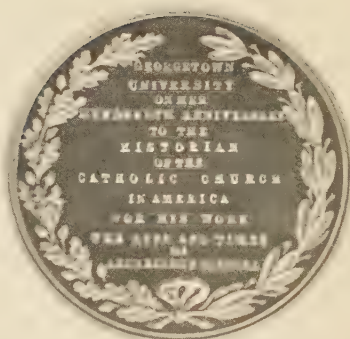
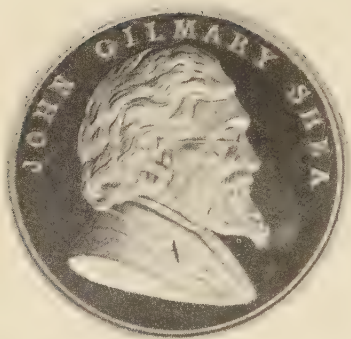
"Whether you could exert influence in any other field than those I have named I do not know, but leaving the matter in Your Grace's hands, I remain with deep and sincere respect,

"Your Grace's obliged and grateful servant,

"JOHN GILMARY SHEA."

"Most Rev. M. A. Corrigan, D.D.,
Archbishop of New York."

The Centenary of Georgetown College took place in February of that year, and during the celebration, on February 22, 1889, the venerable *alma mater* of Catholic higher schools conferred on the distinguished historian the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, and the medal. On one side was Dr. Shea's profile, with



THE GEORGETOWN MEDAL (1889)

his name running parallel with the edge, and on the reverse side, enclosed in half-wreaths of laurel and oak the following inscription:

GEORGETOWN
UNIVERSITY,
ON HER
HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY
TO THE
HISTORIAN
OF THE
CATHOLIC CHURCH
IN AMERICA
FOR HIS WORK
THE LIFE AND TIMES
OF
ARCHBISHOP CARROLL

Dr. Shea accepted the task of writing the *History of Georgetown College* which appeared in 1891.

Acting on the Archbishop's suggestion, Dr. Shea called to see Monsignor Donnelly in regard to his personal affairs. It is pathetic to be obliged to chronicle the fact that, even with the two volumes of the *History* to judge from, no one seems to have realized what Dr. Shea's age alone, he was then sixty-five, should have suggested; namely, a competence enabling him to finish the great work of his life without any of the anxieties connected with the burden of supporting his family. It is true, of course, that Dr. Shea's friends were dealing with a man who had all the legitimate pride a scholar of his distinction rightly possessed. It was not easy, perhaps to offer Dr. Shea a pension. He had never asked for charity, and like all men who give constantly without stint to others, he may have found it impossible to accept help when he needed it himself. At any rate, as the following letter (June 2, 1889) to the Archbishop shows, there was a ray of hope on the dark cloud that had gathered about the fireside in Elizabeth:

"I must thank you sincerely for your kind letter to Mgr. Donnelly in regard to my affairs. When I called on him yesterday my position was talked over at some length. It is far from my

wish to be a pensioner or have a place made for me. I felt that if there were an opening anywhere for work which I was competent to do, Your Grace would exert influence in my favor Another proposal has just been made to me. Mr. Ridder asks me to assume the editorship of the *Catholic News* and to give some days of the week to do it. As the editorship of a Catholic paper or periodical was never before offered me, I should not like to undertake it without Your Grace's sanction and entire approval. If I assumed the position it would be with the hope that I might, when occasion required, learn Your Grace's wishes as to the tone to be adopted, or the mode in which subjects should be treated. I can certainly conduct it prudently and temperately, how ably or successfully I cannot presume to say."

Dr. Shea assumed the editorship of the *News* in the summer of 1889, and in a statement to the subscribers laid down what he believed to be the function of the Catholic press in this country:

"To diffuse Catholic intelligence, to convey to every fireside, knowledge of what the Church is doing through her Head, and through the constituted government, what fellow-Catholics are doing to advance religion by societies, by united action, by rearing churches, schools, and institutions, by the use of the Press to diffuse truth and correct error, refute calumny and present real facts in order to disabuse those deluded by deep-seated prejudice, is simply giving each individual Catholic means at hand for an intelligent combat in the contest which the Church and her children are daily required to carry on; and fitting him to act his part nobly as a citizen of a free land. To carry at brief intervals to Catholic homes reading to interest and instruct, matter presented so attractive as to attract the young, especially from the flood of dangerous publications on every side, is also a great and important object of the Catholic press."

An effort was made in August, 1889, to call a meeting at Baltimore, in conjunction with the Catholic centennial, of the editors of all the Catholic papers in the country. In the printed circular sent out by L. W. Reilly, of Columbus, on September 21, 1889, the proposed formation of a Catholic Press Association was abandoned, owing to the fears expressed by Archbishops Elder and Ireland that questions might arise to disturb the harmony

of the Congress. Dr. Shea declined to participate in the movement.

The movement which had been organized in the spring of 1889 to hold a great Catholic Congress in Baltimore on the occasion of the Centenary of the American Church, resulted in a notable gathering of Catholic lay leaders in November of that year. Former Governor John Lee Carroll, of Maryland, was chosen President, and the Committee on organization was composed of Messrs. William J. Onahan, Henry J. Spaunhorst, D. A. Rudd, John D. Keiley, and John Gilmary Shea. Henry Brownson, the chairman of the Committee on Papers, was the leading spirit in the centennial celebration, and Dr. Shea wrote to him in May, 1889, thanking him for the honor conferred on him. "Unfortunately," he says, "it will be impossible for me to meet the other gentlemen of the Committee on the day named, as I am still unable to walk, having fallen and sustained a severe injury in January. In subsequent meetings I hope to be able to take an active part."

Mr. Brownson had suggested that he prepare for the celebration a paper on the part Catholic laymen had played in the growth of the United States. On June 25, 1889, Dr. Shea replied:

"I would like to gratify the Committee and mankind generally by such a paper as is proposed, but, your father apart, what have we Catholics done in the domain of literature, science, or art, that can be paraded? None of the great poets, orators, historians, leaders in natural or medical sciences, in painting, sculpture, architecture, in great inventions, belonged to us. Will it not do more harm than good to get up and parade fifth-rate people and extol them as paragons of excellence? If I could only see my way clear, I should be happy to go at the paper, but it is in my mind like the chapter on 'Snakes in Ireland,' or Tagliaferro's Chapter on what the Constitution says against the right of a State to secede. I really think seriously that some other topic ought to be selected. There are subjects it seems to me more safe."

Mr. Brownson then asked him to prepare a paper on Catholic Congresses, which eventually Dr. Shea did, and this was the opening paper read at the celebration on November 11, 1889. It was the first time in the history of the nation that representative lay Catholic met to discuss the general interests of the Church, mainly

the relation to the Holy See and to the government of the United States. Dr. Shea called attention to the repeated violation of constitutional rights by the government in the matter of Catholic property, to the serious condition of the Catholic Indians, which needed "prompt" and "energetic action," to the invasion of the rights of the Catholic parents in the question of religious education, and to the necessity of counteracting error, especially by means of the Catholic press.

Dr. Shea lost confidence in the value of the Congress after he heard "the tame and meaningless words" of the resolution passed regarding the independence of the Holy See. He turned to Bishop Maes, of Covington, who sat beside him, "to express my astonishment and grief," he writes to Father Audran, of Vincennes, on May 21, 1890. "I am glad personally," he continues, "that I am on record as speaking clearly. I translated and printed in the *Catholic News* a very remarkable pamphlet on the question which I got from Rome. It swarmed with decisive arguments. I believe in speaking out and speaking out boldly. Alas! we see now what we lost in Mr. McMaster. In the Catholic press in the United States I do not see an editor with American pluck and Roman back-bone. Now, late in life, I am connected with a Catholic paper, but a man of sixty-six is rather too old to learn new ways. Thirty years ago I might have done good service but the timid feared me. I am now working mainly on my *History of the Church*."

At the close of the Catholic Congress of Baltimore in 1889, the prelates and members of this historic assembly journeyed to Washington to assist in laying the cornerstone of the first building of the Catholic University of America. Dr. Shea did not take part in this ceremony. None among the prominent laymen present had given proof of a more profound interest in the new institution of higher learning. In several of Shea's articles on the proposed American Catholic university, there will be found what is undoubtedly the clearest of all the numerous plans suggested for its origin and administration. Dr. Shea had been consulted by Bishop Keane on the new foundation and there was little doubt in his mind that he would be asked to take a place in the original faculty. As the first of its teachers in American history, the Catholic University would have immediately gained a prestige which the passing years would have augmented and enhanced.

The offer did not come, however, and Dr. Shea felt very keenly the silence which settled down upon his own suggestions for the new home of higher scholarship.

What his own scholarly tastes might have contributed to the University in these earliest years is seen in one of his articles in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review* for July, 1885. "This country," he wrote, "is practically without a great University. Spanish America boasted of some in other days, but they are gone, or exist only as a shadow of former greatness . . . the collegiate institutions in the English colonies, out of which our Republic has grown, were all based on the plan of the Universities at Oxford and Cambridge, as those seats of learning came forth dwarfed and crippled from the destroying and study-despising epoch of the Reformation. As the Universities lost with Catholicity the very idea of their creation, the copies were indeed far removed from the true ideal. The narrowness and insular character of the training and knowledge imparted by the universities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was strikingly seen in the vast difference between the cultured Catholic gentlemen who had been trained in a continental university, and the Protestant squire whose education was limited to Oxford and Cambridge."

This bold statement left no doubts in the minds of his readers what Dr. Shea expected from the Catholic University of America. His ideal was a great central school to which well-equipped graduates of our Catholic seminaries and colleges would come for advanced study in theology, philosophy, jurisprudence, letters, arts, and sciences. He, too, feared the opposition to the great project which was then apparent in ecclesiastical circles, but "if it is not cramped and thwarted by half-hearted assent and real opposition," then he saw in vision coming from its halls "a host of intellectually trained priests and laymen, whose influence will be felt in every department of thought, who can make the American contributions to literature, science and the arts instinct with the life and the light that can come from but one source, Divine Truth."

Meanwhile, the third volume was not neglected. On September 9, 1889, Dr. Shea wrote to Archbishop Corrigan: "Learning from Dr. McDonnell that you have again written to Rome to obtain the reports that are so vitally necessary to my work, I

hasten to express my sincere thanks. I have been gathering material and laboriously wading through papers to make notes, but in the terribly straightened position into which I have been thrown, the progress in actually writing my third volume has been slow. The appearance of two rival histories, which, of course, draw greatly from my researches, but which are pushed actively through canvassers, will make the completion of my *History* very difficult financially, as I anticipated no such ungenerous competition when I undertook the work."

After his return from the centennial celebration, Dr. Shea fell ill, and it was February, 1890, before he could resume work on the third volume of the *History*. Father Patrick Corrigan, who had stood by him in all his difficulties, now realized that unless Dr. Shea's immediate distress were removed, the work could never be finished. With the help of some friends, he finally collected the sum of one thousand dollars and sent it as a preliminary subsidy to Dr. Shea, who immediately informed the proprietor of the *Catholic News* that he wished to end his editorial duties, in order to devote himself entirely to the volumes which remained to be written. Father Corrigan's generous co-operation relieved Shea of all anxiety, and for the first time in his long life of sixty-six years, his mind was free from financial worry.

There was an interesting historical announcement in the *Catholic News* for May 4, 1890, which tells us in retrospect the story of the *History* up to that time:

"Some years since I was invited to write the History of the Catholic Church in this country, and subscriptions were advanced by several of the hierarchy, clergy and laity sufficient to cover the cost of the volumes as they were undertaken. Of these generous friends nearly one-third have already passed from this world. Two volumes were written and published. Soon after the appearance of the second volume, 'The Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll,' an accident laid me up for months a cripple. Though I endeavored successfully in this state to fulfil my usual editorial duties, I was deprived of nearly my whole income by an unjust and cruel act that I never anticipated. While in this position the proprietor of the *Catholic News* offered me the editorial charge of his paper, and, aided by the intelligent and well-informed staff connected with that journal, I have till the pres-

ent time labored to meet his expectations and those of the Catholic body.

"Meanwhile my History was virtually suspended, beyond the collection of material and studies of particular phases of periods. Understanding this, some friends in the clergy of the State where I reside made an effort to enable me to lay aside all other work and apply myself to the completion of the History. Since the first of January I have done nothing else, except the editorial work of the *Catholic News*, notwithstanding which, my third volume is so far advanced that it will appear early this summer unless some unforeseen event intervenes.

"I notified the proprietor of the *Catholic News* of the position of affairs, and of my relinquishment of all other work. As he had made heavy outlay, based on my continuance as editor of the *News*, he had felt great reluctance to sever the connection which will involve loss, and require a change in the management of the paper.

"For my own part I should without hesitation retire at once from the editorial chair, did I find that it interfered with my special work. Hitherto it has been no obstacle, but, on the contrary, by the wide circulation it enjoys, the *News* brings me in contact with Catholics in all parts of the country, enables me to see all the Catholic journals, and profit by all historical reminiscences, biographical sketches and the like. It has also enabled me to obtain important and valuable material. My presence in the office is limited to two days, and the change of scene for that short time is beneficial to my health.

"My great desire is to complete the History of the Church. To it I will sacrifice all other matters, and even the editorship of the *News*, if it proves the slightest bar, shall be relinquished on due notice, whenever I feel and my kind friends see that it retards the work."

This announcement, he felt, would leave him free to resign his post on the *Catholic News* the moment he felt he could not carry on the work without interfering with the *History*.

On May 5, 1890, Dr. Shea wrote to Father Corrigan:

"I inserted in the last number of the *News* a statement which you have seen, as Mr. Ridder promised to send you copies. It defines my position and leaves me free to withdraw whenever I

find it necessary. Last week I did an immense deal of work at Baltimore, and today I hear of a large batch of documents coming from Rome. My volume, so far as my actual material goes, is half done, and I am arranging to begin the printing at once. I got out volumes I and II by night work, about 25 hours a week, after a hard day's work in the office in New York. Now by the help coming from you and the large-hearted friends who have responded to you, I have devoted 55 hours a week to the History, and I certainly can complete the three volumes in two years or very little more. The connection with the *News* is a diversion that helps rather than retards the work, and of course when my book is completed, leaves me a foothold for the future. My chief aim is now to close up the work on the history with as little delay as possible, so as not to tax the generosity of my friends a day longer than is necessary. If, however, my name on Ridder's paper at all affects your appeal, it must come off and my work there cease."

Before September had passed, Father Corrigan had sent to Dr. Shea a third subsidy of one thousand dollars. In acknowledging the receipt of the same, Dr. Shea wrote (September 26, 1890):

"While enclosing receipt for \$1,000, being the third payment made by you this year, I must express more deeply than ever how much I owe you personally and all Catholics owe to your disinterested exertions and to the generous friends whom you have interested in the Church History of this country.

"The accident which befell me and the consequence it entailed, made it very difficult for me to continue the work, and I began to feel that no one for a century would attempt to go so systematically over the whole ground. Your action enabled me to complete the work as I projected it. Besides adding steadily to my stock of documents from Rome and collections in dioceses here, I have acquired many necessary books, newspapers, pamphlets, letters of Bishops, priests, religious, giving me a rich mine of material. Since the commencement of the year I have labored steadily on my third volume, and have nearly six hundred pages in type, so that I can certainly issue next month. I shall then set out for the West in search of documents and letters, and on my return,

begin writing the fourth volume, which I hope, God willing, to complete by the first of May.

"The fifth and concluding volume I aim and trust to have entirely written by the end of the year, so as to issue it early in 1892. My aim is to be able to show the whole work brought to a conclusion before the Columbus centenary. In the volume about to appear I shall express my gratitude for the appreciation already manifested in my work, but I hope to receive from you a complete list of those who so nobly co-operate with you that I may dedicate my fifth volume and the work it crowns to those who deserve to be remembered as long as the work can preserve their memory."

When autumn came, Dr. Shea felt strong enough to make the journey to Notre Dame University for the purpose of completing his researches among the valuable collection which Professor Edwards had gathered there. On his return to Elizabeth, he wrote to Father Sorin (November 24, 1890): "Returning to my home, after you, with such kindness, escorted me to the train, I feel it a duty to thank you with all the sincerity of my heart for your condescension and favor during my stay at Notre Dame. Much as I had heard of your institution, and with some conceptions formed, I was prepared for what I actually beheld. The work of your life inspired by a love of God and our Lady guided by such a clear insight into what the condition of Catholics in this country required, has produced indeed, institutions which in their thoroughness of literary, scientific and practical courses are unequalled; and you have the secret of imbuing all around you with a sense of religion, refinement and art, that is not easy to describe, but which is felt at every step. The incalculable good that your University has effected and will for years continue to produce has never been fully appreciated. In my soul came the deep feeling of regret that in my early days Providence had not guided me to you, to labor under your direction these years of a comparatively wasted life. What a glory it would be to me to have taken part in so much good accomplished for the salvation of souls, and the elevation of our people. With the deepest veneration and gratitude for the kindness and fatherly interest so recently evinced, crowning many former acts, I shall ever be your devoted, thankful Son and Servant in Xt."

On All Saints', 1890, the third volume was through the press, although it was not on sale until February of the next year, owing to delay in the bindery. It carried the narrative from the death of Archbishop Carroll to the Fifth Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1843. In the preface to the volume, Dr. Shea relates the story of the intrigue which was successfully planned by those in the Frank Leslie concern who were opposed to the Catholic Faith and which deprived him of his only means of support. He then thanks Father P. Treacy of Burlington, N. J., for the financial support he had secured in 1889 after the accident—Cardinal Gibbons headed the list with a gift of fifty dollars "in favor of so worthy a gentleman, who has spent himself in the cause of religion and historical truth,"—and then offers the volume to Father Treacy in dedication and gratitude. To Father Patrick Corrigan he announced in the same preface that when the *History* was completed, the whole work would be dedicated to him and to his generous co-operators. "I trust," he writes, "that the Catholic public will accept this *History of the Church* with some of the kindness which has prompted such a self-sacrificing spirit to enable me to complete it." The inside cover of the third volume contained a facsimile engraving of the Georgetown medal of the previous year.

The third volume is divided into six Books. The first Book treats of the Province of Baltimore from 1815 to 1829. Book two deals with the Dioceses of Louisiana and the Floridas, New Orleans, and St. Louis and the Vicariate of Alabama. Book three consists of two chapters on the First Provincial Council of Baltimore, and on the Growth of Anti-Catholic Feeling. Book four returns to the Province of Baltimore and gives the history of that diocese and of its suffragan Sees from 1829 to 1843. The fifth Book returns to the Middle West and Louisiana, and the last Book treats of Texas. The arrangement is unsatisfactory, and it makes an impression on the reader of notes hastily put together in geographical classification and then strung together into a connected whole. The whole of the United States at the time still comprised one ecclesiastical Province, that of Baltimore, and the volume would have gained in strength and clarity had Dr. Shea kept to a less rigid outline. But there is nothing of importance missing. Every detail of Catholic life in these stirring

years is told, either in the text or in footnotes, and the volume is, like all Dr. Shea's work, a mine for the research student.

During these seven years of intense activity on his *History*, Dr. Shea was able to issue several volumes of importance to the Church of the United States. His translation of Father Martin's *Life of Father Jogues*, which had appeared in Paris in 1875, was published in 1885, and quickly became a popular book among Catholics in this country. The basis of Shea's translation was an incomplete one made by Father Finotti, which Dr. Shea found so faulty that he did the whole work over. Shea's volume was published as a thank-offering to Blessed Isaac Jogues, and all the profits accruing from the sale of the book went to the Chapel of Our Lady of Martyrs at Auriesville, New York.

Another work, which is entirely unworthy of Dr. Shea's great skill, is his *Hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the United States*, published in 1886 (pp. 445). Richard H. Clarke's *Lives of the Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States* appeared in two volumes (New York, 1872), but the want was felt of a handy volume containing short biographies of all the bishops for popular reading. Only the strongest necessity of meeting his obligations induced Dr. Shea to prepare his *Hierarchy* as well as other popular volumes such as the *Pictorial Lives of the Saints*, (pp. 138, New York, 1888), and *The Defenders of our Faith*, (pp. 678, New York, 1892). He was one of those writers whose scholarship was too perfect for popular works of this kind.

One short essay which belongs to this period and which he meant to be the basis of an important work is his *Bibliography of the Councils, Synods and Statutes of the Catholic Church in the United States*. (1890). For years he had collected the printed Acts and Decrees of all the American Councils and Synods, and his correspondence shows that he intended to complete his collection and then to publish a series of volumes containing all these important enactments with historical notes to elucidate the text. In January, 1887, he appealed to Cardinal Gibbons to foster this series of volumes. "God has given Your Eminence," he says, "the great gift of reaching the hearts of the people, and I feel that it will increase the great merit already acquired as one of those *qui erudiunt omnes*." The idea of a printed collection of these volumes appealed to many of our bishops, and Dr. Shea

was constantly urged to begin the work by publishing all the official acts of Archbishop Carroll.

Dr. Shea had intended to make a second visit to Notre Dame University in the spring of 1891, in order to complete his notes for his fourth volume. For this part of his *History* (1844-1866), he was obliged to depend to a larger extent than he wished upon the Catholic newspapers published in various parts of the country. By January, 1891, he had read and indexed eighty volumes of these old newspapers, magazines, annals, and reports, and still had about eighty more to do, together with all the local and State histories.

To Monsignor (Cardinal) Farley, he wrote on May 2, 1891: "We have had a sick time here recently, and Mrs. Shea has been very dangerously ill. Today we can see encouraging improvement, although we are by no means free from anxiety." He tells Bishop Gilmour of Cleveland on February 9, 1891, how all this anxiety had hindered him but that he had then settled down to write the volume which was to be his last. Monsignor Farley wrote encouraging letters from time to time, and Dr. Shea needed such support, for he knew, as he says, that he was on "delicate ground," since his fourth volume would deal with some personages in the Church still living. In another interesting letter (April 27, 1891), to his great friend, James C. Pilling, the ethnologist and bibliographer of the Indian tribes, who had been stricken that year with a fatal disease which was to carry him off in his prime (1846-1895), Dr. Shea says: "Your information gave me a shock, limping myself and doomed to limp, for my muscles do not gain strength. I can scarcely bring myself to believe that one who like yourself seemed a picture of health should be steadily losing the power of locomotion. We are both in the hands of God." To Father George Houck, he wrote (May 12, 1891): "I am weak. My stomach is not inclined to work. My lameness continues. My eyesight is gone in one eye, and I get low-spirited at times. So you see I have received more than the old woman's warnings which Death promised her before he came in person. It cannot be long before I drop the 'and' out of the Hail Mary and say: 'Pray for us sinners now at the hour of our death.'"

Among the problems facing him at this time was the dis-

posal of his library. One of his friends, Father John J. Dougherty, interested himself in the matter, and at his suggestion Dr. Shea printed this announcement containing a catalogue of his books, pamphlets and manuscripts:

MY DEAR FATHER DOUGHERTY :

IN answer to your note requesting some memoranda about my Library I will state as follows:

The Library has been collected almost exclusively to bring together books relating to the History of the Catholic Church in the United States, and those countries directly connected with it.

Beginning with the discovery of Vinland by the Northmen it has Torfaeus' Vinland, in Latin, with the recent English translation, works by DaCosta, Horsford, and others on the Northmen.

The discovery by Columbus is represented by the Regiomontanus Almanac, 1489; Ruchamer, 1508; the Letters of Peter Martyr, the Gius-tiniani Psalter, containing the first life of Columbus, 1572; Barlow's fac-simile of First Voyage, privately printed; Scyllacius, Third Voyage, privately printed by James Lenox; Harris's Notes and Work on the Genoa Bank, both privately printed; Lives by Ferdinand Columbus, Roselly de Lorgues, Tarducci; the discussion as to the Coffin discovered at Santo Domingo in a series of pamphlets.

The early voyages and discoveries on our coast by Catholics are shown in Ramusio, 1565; Montanus, Grynaeus, Thevet's Cosmographie, 1585; and France Antarctique, Porcacchi and Ortelius, Gemma Phrysius, DeLaet; the discussion as to Verazzani by Murphy, Brevoort, Da-Costa; Harris's Cabot, etc.

The Spanish Mission-work at the South, in Florida, New Mexico, Texas, Arizona and California is described in Mendoza's China, 1585, etc.; Montoya's New Mexico, 1602; Benavides, 1630; Perea, Vetancurt, Torquemada, Davila, Barcia, Menendes, Historia del Colegio Apostolico; all the Lives of Ven. Father Margil, Process of his Canonization; Life of Father Juniper Serra, Maria de Agreda, Mistica Ciudad dal de Dios and Correspondence; Alegre's History of the Society of Jesus, Tanner's Societas Militans; Palou's work, the Tres Cartes on the Dominican Missions, Hernandez, Coleccion de Bulas, Escudero's Sonora and Chihuahua; Pino's New Mexico, Azipe's Texas, De Onis' Memorial; Coleccion Ecclesiastica Mejicana, several works of Ayeta: the Sermon on the Martyrs of the Colorado. Many of these works are of extreme rarity. There are also Alaman's History of Mexico, Veytia, works on Central America, Porto Rico, etc.

On Canada connecting with the early missions in Maine, New York, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, Wisconsin, etc., there are Cartier's Voyages, (Tross' reprints), Champlain's Voyages, Paris and Quebec reprints; L'Escarbot, Tross reprint; the Jesuit Relations 14 out of 36 originals, and the Quebec reprint; Ragueneau's Life of La Mère Cathérine, original; Traités avec les Sauvages, original; several

edicts, original; Creuxius, *Historia Canadensis*, original; Le Clercq's *Gaspésie*; *Etablissement de la Foi*, imperfect; Hennepin's *Various Voyages*, Le Houtan, Le Beau, Bossu, etc., Marquette's *Voyages*, Rich's and Lenox's with a curious Dutch edition; Joutel's *Voyage* in French and Spanish; Juchereau, *Histoire de l'hôtel Dieu*, Charlevoix, *Vie de la Mère Marie de l'Incarnation*, and other lives; Quebec *Rituel*; *Histories of Canada* by Charlevoix, De la Potherie, Ferland, Maillon, Garneau; Sagard's *Grand Voyage*, original and reprint; Sagard's *Histoire du Canada*; *Lives of Ven. Bishop Laval* by La Tour and others; *Life of Bp. St. Valier*; *Historical works of Abbé Casgrain*, *Memoires des Commissionaires*; works on Nova Scotia; *Pastoral Letters of Bishops and Archbishops of Quebec*. Early Jesuit Relations printed or reprinted privately by Mr. James Lenox and Dr. O'Callaghan; the Cramoisy Series. Works on Louisiana by Le Page du Pratz, Dumont, La Harpe, Laval, the famous memorial original, Champigny, Margry's Collections; Quebec Documents; Byrnmner's Archive Reports.

For Maryland missions and the development of the Church, Dodd's *History of the Church in England*, Flanagan's, Oliver's Collections, and Biography, the Records of the Society of Jesus by Brother Foley; Brennan's *History of the Church in Ireland*; Cogan's *History of the Diocese of Meath*; *Life of Right Rev. Dr. Doyle*; *Laws of Maryland*; *White's Journal*, *Relations of Maryland*.

Works on the French co-operation in the Revolution are largely represented.

Lives of Archbishop Carroll and *all* other biographies of Catholic Bishops or Priests, or religious in this country published in any language, making more than 150 volumes.

Histories of dioceses, churches, colleges, parishes, that have appeared in this country in English, German, or French. Many works on Religious orders, their rules, ceremonials, etc. Of the Catholic Councils, Synods, Statutes issued in the various dioceses, there are about 100, a collection that cannot be equalled.

A set of the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, a set of the Quebec *Annales*, a set of the *Berichte der Leopolden Stiftung*, with many works on the Indian missions by Father DeSmet and others.

Of the early printed Catholic books in this country, I have 205, the greater part of those described in Finotti's *Bibliographia Catholica Americana*, and 38 that were unknown to him, including some of the earliest and rarest. The library contains all the Catholic Bibles, Testaments, etc., printed in this country described in Shea's *Bibliography of Catholic Bibles*. The Catholic Newspapers, Magazines and Reviews printed in the United States amount now to 489 volumes, a collection that seems incredible to some who know the difficulty of obtaining them.

The Collection of Catholic pamphlets is very large, probably 3000 in all, and embraces many of a general character, on the School Question,

Freedom of Worship, Lectures, Discussions, with Pastoral Letters and others relating to single dioceses in the United States.

For collateral study there are Histories of the United States by Bancroft, McMaster, Spencer, the rare publications of the Bradford Club and Prince Society; the best history of each one of the States, some extremely rare, Horsmanden's Negro Plot; publications of the New York, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire and other Historical Societies; a share in the Publication Fund of the New York Historical Society and the volumes issued by it; the Historical Magazine, Magazine of Pennsylvania Historical Society, New England Historical Genealogical Register, etc.

There are also books of Travel touching on Catholic matters, Controversies, local histories bearing on Catholic churches, institutions, etc.

The set of Catholic Almanacs is complete, including Field's, 1817; Power's, 1822; and the rival editions where two appeared, and the local ones issued during Civil War.

There are rare early works not connected with this country, but in place in a Catholic Library, Bible of 1494, Testament of 1506; Mamotrectus or Explanation of Hard Words in the Bible, 1483; a work on the Mass about 1470, with the old form of the Hail Mary written on last page, and defaced by some Reformer; De Triplice Vita, 1489; Works showing popular religious teaching before the Reformation—De Burgo's Pupilla Oculi, De Eruditione Christe Fidelium, Manipulus Curatorum, etc., the original edition of Blessed Thomas More's Utopia; several early printed Catholic works from Continental presses; Pentateuch in Hebrew, Spanish, with prayers, Jewish prayer books, and the two earliest books issued in the Irish character at Rome.

Besides the Bible of 1494, there is the edition of the Bible issued in 1592 by Pope Clement VIII. which was made the standard. This is now extremely rare, and took me years to find; the edition of 1593, and that issued under Pius IX. from the Propaganda Press; the Bible de Vence, Latin and French; Allioli's Bible, Latin and German; the original Douay and Rheims Bible, 1582, 1609; the second edition by Consturier, Rouen; Witham's New Testament, 2 vols., with one volume or an edition unknown to Cotton; Nary's New Testament, excessively rare; Blessed John Moher's Penitential Psalms; first edition of the Greek Testament in United States, etc.

The collection of books relating to the Indian tribes with works in Indian languages is very large. Many of these bear on Catholic missions. It embraces a full set, and, perhaps, the only full set of the reports of the Indian Department, and many reports, travels, expeditions, tribal histories and mission accounts now rare. The works in and on Indian languages number 380, and form one of the largest collections of the kind in the United States. This part, if not considered desirable, could be easily disposed of for \$1000.

Bibliography is represented by Sabin's American Bibliography, about half the numbers; Bibliographies of the Indian languages by Pilling,

Cotton's English Bibles and Rheims and Douay, O'Callaghan's American Bibles, Catalogues of the New York State Library, Wisconsin Historical Society, etc., Corwin's, Squier's, O'Callaghan's, Finotti's, Brinley's, Barlow's, Brayton Ives', and many other large libraries; Bibliographical works on the Jesuits, Franciscans, etc.

There are, besides, general histories of the Church and of the Missions, with many works on Protestant sects useful for reference.

Besides many books of miscellaneous character, the library comprises an extensive collection of documents relating to the History of the Catholic Church in America, originals or copies made in Rome, France, Spain, England, copies of early parish registers, letters, etc. There is also a large collection of autograph letters, embracing papers and documents signed and issued by many of the Popes, letters of Cardinals, famous men, monarchs, most of the Presidents of the United States, Vice Presidents, Cabinet officers and others, with most of the Catholic Bishops of the United States from the Most Rev. John Carroll to the present time.

Many curious relics of early Catholic times will also be found there.

I think this synopsis will give you what you desire, an idea of my Library, and I remain, dear Rev. Father, with great respect,

Your Sincere Friend,

JOHN GILMARY SHEA.

There is a letter to Father Dougherty, dated May 10, 1891, which gives us Dr. Shea's views and incidentally the information that two Catholic institutions had approached him on the matter:

"I am greatly indebted to you for your interest in myself personally which I appreciate fully. I shrink however from any farther appeal such as Father Corrigan and Father Treacy have made. Rev. Mr. McGean spoke to me in consequence of a letter of His Grace Archbishop Corrigan to him. I then said that all I asked was some patrons to replace the fifteen who have died. It would be better to aid in circulating the book. Two Catholic Institutions have made proposals to secure my library. It is the largest and fullest collection of books, pamphlets, periodicals, newspapers, documents, autographs, portraits and views relating to the history of the Catholic Church in this Country that will ever be got together. My books, pamphlets, bound newspapers, and magazines amount in all to about 13,000, so far as I can judge, and could not be obtained in twenty years' search. It is worth \$10,000. I should like to see it in some Catholic Institution where it would be preserved and increased, but I am

loth to see it go either West or South. New York is the place for it. Yet if any organization could be formed to obtain for me 500 subscribers for single sets of my History of the Church I would give my whole collection to our Historical Society or any other institution preferred by those who act in the matter. It might be placed in the Library of the Archbishop of New York, the New Theological Seminary near Yonkers, the Catholic Club, or any permanent collection and building. Everyone who subscribed would thus be a donor to the extent of his subscription to the Library fund besides receiving a work worth all he gives. The books &c. would be delivered as soon as my fifth volume is issued. As I will naturally pick up other books and material as long as I live these later acquisitions shall all be added to the collection. This seems to me a simple and feasible plan advantageous to all. A committee of fifty who would each secure ten subscribers would effect it."

One of these institutions was Georgetown University, which eventually bought Dr. Shea's library just before his death. The other is not mentioned in his correspondence, but it may be that Dr. Shea referred to the efforts made by the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia to secure the unique collection for its own use. Dr. Shea had withdrawn his membership from the Philadelphia Society, owing to what he believed was unfair criticism by one of its members, Martin I. J. Griffin, whose *Researches* were linked up by many readers with the Society's activities. At any rate, when Dr. Lawrence F. Flick approached the family with a view to purchase the Shea Collection, his offers were respectfully declined.

The United States Catholic Historical Society had shown little anxiety to follow the ideals it had so bravely placed for itself in 1884, and in order to save it from dissolution, Dr. Shea accepted the presidency in 1891, in order as he writes to Monsignor Lambing on May 20, 1891, "to put new life into it." Some months previously, Dr. Shea wrote to a friend in New York City:

"Our Do Nothing Council at the last meeting discussed the dissolution of the Society because they do nothing; they groan and lament. Now they prevent the holding of meetings which

will draw out scholars and interest some at least of our people. By preventing meetings they delay the issuing of the Magazine in which I have no papers to print and no meetings to record. You are a man full of work with a large institution on your hands, and a branch which requires constant visits. The only thing that shows life is the Magazine, and these gentlemen, not one of whom offered to help me in the least while I was flat on my back or since complain that that the Magazine is not on time! I have spent five hundred dollars in cash on the Magazine to ensure its success, I have given my knowledge, experience, accumulated documents, and they have done nothing. Is this fair treatment to me? One object of the Society is to excite among our people an interest in the history of Catholics and Catholicity. This can be done by meetings, papers, publications. Another is to collect material for historians and scholars. We have no funds to buy nuggets, to pay \$1,000 for Peckham or Rosier, \$3,000 for Jesuit Relations, but we can save much that is going to destruction. There is not in the country a complete file of any Catholic newspaper that is twenty years old or more. There is no great collection of Catholic pamphlets. My own is in both respects almost unique, yet with 400 volumes of Catholic newspapers and magazines, I need many. I have advertised in *Ridder's* paper German and English for several months and obtained little though willing to buy. After the last meeting of the Society, I inserted an article in the *News* deploring the constant destruction of old newspapers, magazines and letters and asking parties having any to send to the Society. Mr. Blank alluded to in your letter is I think the fourth who has offered the Society papers. This shows that such notes in one Catholic paper after another through the country would draw out a great deal of such matter. But who is to write them? Editor of one paper I cannot well do it. Much also can be got by exchanges but who is to do the writing? Men and women can be interested in our work but must be looked up, seen, talked to or addressed by letter. If the work is to be done, some one must do it. I have concluded if I am made President with a young man under me to act as Librarian, and another as Secretary of some kind, I can put life into the Society and show creditable results. I am treating now with two young men whose inclinations point that

way and shall then propose them for membership and office. I am not willing to continue to labor and give my time and means as I have done without authority or name and give my time and means as I have done and to listen to perpetual grumbling. All I ask is one year's trial."

In another letter he says: "The future of my library is apparently secured, and the thousands of volumes of books, pamphlets, newspapers, and periodicals will be kept together for the use of future students. My collection of Catholic newspapers and periodicals will be kept together for the use of future students. My collection of Catholic newspapers and periodicals published in this country numbers now over 550 volumes, nearly all bound."

The *History* had to be laid aside during the summer of 1891. Dr. Shea was ill from May of the year, and it was only in September that he was able to proceed. "My health is very poor," he wrote on October 7, 1891, "and my hours and days for work are becoming fewer, so that I am anxious to complete this work and lay down my pen." "I would really visit your famous convent" he wrote (November 10) to the Reverend Mother Baptista of the Ursulines of Brown County, Ohio, "but my health is a wreck, travel is impossible, and my days are numbered." A week later he informed Father Dougherty: "My health has become so critical that I am ordered away, but with my fourth volume going through the press, I cannot till it is ready. My calls on the surviving patrons by whose encouragement I undertook the work do not meet with response. Other means on which I depended have also failed me, and I have been obliged to raise money on my library and anything available. As my library will be no longer under my control, I am compelled to withdraw your offer, and return the check. Please deduct the expenses you have incurred and make the rest a donation to your Home. I had set my heart on seeing my Library retained in New York, and shall never forget your kind and disinterested effort which calls for all my gratitude. When I saw you were to labor alone, I felt that the result was very doubtful."

On December 24, 1891, he wrote to his old friend, Richard

R. Elliott, who had assisted him with the history of the French in and about Detroit:

"I write on the eve of the great festival to apologize for long neglect. I have been ill since July, now and for more than two months extremely so. Work is possible only at intervals and in constant pain. When your volumes of the *Vindicator* so kindly lent me came, I set out to go through them and return them. By the time I accomplished this I broke down completely, and your invaluable package remained untouched till a few days ago when I resumed my studies for the diocese of Detroit. My sins there stared me in the face. There was Father Potier's well known chirography; and your notes; I hardly know what to advise you in regard to it. My old collecting friends are nearly all gone. Mr. Lenox, Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan, E. G. Squire, S. L. M. Barlow, Beach, etc. I really do not know any one in these parts who is now collecting generally. Some few are picking up books in Indian languages. In the next place manuscripts rarely bring anything like their value. Squire's collection was very rich, but at his sale, his manuscripts did not bring the price of the binding. I do not believe that the Potier manuscript will bring \$20 or \$25. There is a Mr. Gunther, a confectioner in Chicago, who is a large purchaser of Americana, I do not know his address, but I think you can easily find it. I have several early manuscripts chiefly Indiana and those purchased at auction never cost me more than \$5 to \$10. Feeling that my end is not far off, I have formed a plan for disposing of my library as a whole, and it will apparently be preserved in some Catholic institution. I have been so straitened that I had to raise money on books and all I had in order to get enough to bring my fourth volume out."

There are but a few letters after this Christmas message to Mr. Elliot. The end was clearly in sight to all of his friends, though perhaps not to his immediate family. Mrs. Shea and his daughters were accustomed to these breaks, when it looked as if he would never write again, and so often had the Doctor triumphed over physical weakness, that they had no immediate fear. The truth was that only the determined will of the man would carry him through his task. So many had come to seek his friendship and to lighten his advancing years on account of

his great work for American Catholic history that he meant to finish the *History*, if it took his last ounce of strength. In reality, it did, for with the coming of the New Year, 1892, he worked with the consciousness that every hour counted, and that it was to be a race till the end.

CHAPTER VIII

THE END

February 22, 1892)

John Gilmary Shea had now reached his sixty-eighth year. He realized, better than all around him, that he had never fully recovered from the accident of 1889. Two purposes dominated the heroic struggle he was to make from New Year's Day to Washington's Birthday, in 1892. The first of these was the completion of his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*. As originally announced in 1885, there were to be five volumes to the work, the fifth volume bearing the title *The Church on the Pacific Coast*. As the work progressed, he found it more logical to combine the third, fourth and fifth volumes into two, the first to contain the narrative of our Catholic history from 1815 to 1844; the second, from 1844 to 1866. He had no intention of carrying the narrative farther than the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore (1866). The remainder, from the Second to the Third Plenary Councils (1866-1884), and from 1884 to his own day, he believed should be left to his successors in the field to accomplish. He felt that this period (1866-1892), which saw some of the most intricate problems the Catholic Church in America has yet had to solve, should be allowed to undergo "the mellowing influence of time," in order that the events which literally crowd its years "might be judged in a calmer mood and in juster proportion."

In one way, it is to be regretted that his life was not prolonged for another decade at least; for, had he been able to narrate our history, as no one but Shea could narrate it then, we should have a completely rounded-out chronicle of the four hundred years of American history which came to an end on October 12, 1892. Another regret may well be added to this. In 1892, the literature of the American history was almost in the same unsatisfactory state, as when John Lingard began (1819), the publication of his *History of England*. The revised edition (1880-1882) of Hildreth's *History of the United States* was for all its six volumes too meagre and too partisan to last. John

Elizabeth H. Shea / Jr

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Dear Mr

I have designed the
property owned by the Manchester
Fire Insurance Co as the
merchandise for the
highway to Sophie & the
she has policy made
to correspond

Yours truly

John F. Shea
Woodward the woods etc



Marshall had failed in his *Life of Washington* to give us an accurate estimate of the spirit of colonial liberty and had blundered in his interpretation of the political forces centering about the repeal of the Stamp Act. George Bancroft's *History of the United States*, the tenth volume of which brought the narrative down to 1789, had in spite of its fascinating style lost sight of the deeper effects of our colonial life upon the growth of our national institutions.

There was need of a history of the United States, written with that unbiased accuracy which John Lingard possessed above all his contemporaries in England. It is not too forcible a word to say that John Gilmary Shea alone might have given us a history of the United States that would have analyzed with perfection every factor, social, religious and political, that had gone into the building of the American nation. We need not go all the way with one who was then the foremost Catholic layman in the United States, in saying that "it is simply impossible for the most liberal Protestant writer to treat with entire fairness any Catholic subject," but we can hold in all security of judgment that the scholar who had revealed to Americans generally and to Catholics in particular the share in the formation of the nation taken by those of the Catholic Faith, was prepared as were few other historians of his day to translate the entire past into a record which like Lingard's would bear the brunt of criticism and approach the ideal standard work upon the subject.

All through the three thousand pages of his *History*, Dr. Shea not only proved his right to be considered one of America's foremost historians, but there is a haunting quality in his volumes which hints that once he had completed his great work of depicting on the canvas of the past the story of Catholicism in the United States, the larger field would have found in him one of the most mature students of the time. Had he but lived to do this greater work, his place in American historiography would be that of a master; his voluminous writings would have placed beyond cavil the claims those of the Catholic Faith rightly make for a preponderant share in the nation's rise and growth; his own scholarship would have reached its full flowering; and we should be witnesses in our own day of a fairer and juster esti-

mate of the moral, intellectual, and political gifts Catholicism has made to the nation.

That task remains to be done. Dr. Shea has not only shown the way in his *Catholic Missions*, in his translation of De Courcy's *Essais*, and in his own *History*, but has given us in the hundred and more works which he published from 1852 to 1892, a treasure house of facts and suggestions, guides to source-material, and the invaluable judgments his long years of study fashioned on almost every phase of our national and religious history.

Knowing that he was leaving this greater task undone, Dr. Shea's mind was preoccupied with a second problem during these last months of his life; namely, the preservation of his collection of manuscripts, pamphlets, and books for the future Catholic historians of the land.

There were several places in the United States at that time where such a precious collection could have been safely housed. The Catholic University of America was unprepared in 1892 to be the home of a special library of this nature. The study of Church history was just beginning at the University under the late Bishop Thomas O'Gorman, D.D., and the present Rector, Bishop Thomas J. Shahan, D.D. The American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia had then completed eight years of active service to the cause of American history. Its present spacious home was not purchased until 1895, but as we have seen the officers and managers of the Society endeavored to secure Dr. Shea's collection as a nucleus for its own "library and cabinet," as it was called in those days.

The University of Notre Dame had established through Professor James Farnham Edwards a central Catholic Archives of America. Many of the bishops had entered into Edwards' plans, and he made a journey through the Middle West and the East gathering up all monumental and archival sources for our Catholic history.

Dr. Shea profited, as we have seen, by the Catholic Archives of America and visited the University of Notre Dame in order to study this material. On another occasion he wrote to Mr. Edwards: "Your wonderfully kind loan has arrived safely and is a deluge of historical material, a perfect mine of facts, estimates and judgments. Many of these letters have been in several

hands, and how little they have made of them! There are some where every line is a volume to one who understands. De Courcy had some of them, Bishop Bayley had them for years, Archbishop Hughes also had them. I recognize by Bishop Bayley's endorsement some of the Bruté papers so long in his hands and part of which perished by fire. You possess in what you have gathered more material for a real history of the Church in this country during the present century than was ever dreamt of. Your own zeal and labor as a collector, guided by intelligent love of Church and country, has been rewarded by great results. Yet I hope that it is only a beginning. I recognize more thoroughly now what you have done and, properly supported, may still do. You have created a new line, and your zeal has saved much from decay and destruction."

But the problem which faced Dr. Shea was not only to find a safe place for his collection but also to make its transfer from his own possession a medium of financial assistance to his wife and children. Eventually, at a considerable outlay, the Society of Jesus secured the valuable John Gilmary Shea collection of books and manuscripts.

Dr. Shea lay dying on February 19, 1892, when Father J. Havens Richards, S.J., then President of Georgetown University, came to Elizabeth, to secure Dr. Shea's signature to the agreement between himself and the Society for the transfer of the collection to the University. On his way back to Georgetown, Father Richards wrote from Baltimore (February 21) begging Mrs. Shea and her daughters to be courageous before the trial which was then recognized to be inevitable. "Let me impress upon you," he wrote to Isabel Shea, "the absolute necessity for yourself, your mother and your sister, to take proper rest, and not allow yourselves to be agitated and distressed. If our dear Lord intends to take your father, that is no reason why all the rest of the family should kill themselves. with nervous worry and distress. Dr. Shea himself is very calm, submissive, and sensible; and if he can be so at this great moment, you ought all to be able to bring yourselves to the same frame of mind. This is important even for his sake, and I hope you will endeavor to carry it out. If I had any authority, I would order you all to

try to be resigned and tranquil, and to take a little sleep, or at least, try to, by turns, if necessary, every afternoon."

Dr. Shea had shown the first signs of his approaching end on February 13, when a chill that lasted more than an hour made him put aside the proof sheets of his last volume and go to bed. He recovered, however, and the next morning, Sunday, though unable to attend Mass, he was with the family at breakfast. The following day he was able to rise, and Father Eugene Carroll, of St. Mary's Church, who was called in, urged Mrs. Shea to tell her husband of his serious condition. This was done immediately, and Dr. Shea asked for the Last Sacraments, which he received the next day, February 16. After Father Carroll had left, Dr. Shea forced himself back to the desk in his study and worked at the proofs until he had finished them. On Wednesday Father Corrigan, the loyal friend of his late years, came, and on Thursday Monsignor Farley came over from New York, to bid him good-bye. On Friday, Bishop Wigger of Newark came to give Dr. Shea the last blessing, and on Monday, February 21, he was very much elated by the reception of a cablegram from Rome with the blessing of Pope Leo XIII, which Archbishop Corrigan had requested.

When it was seen on Sunday afternoon that Dr. Shea could not last much longer, the family knelt around his bedside, saying the prayers for the dying. Dr. Shea answered these prayers to the very end. He died at seven minutes to four in the morning of February 22, his last act being an attempt to put the rosary beads, given to him years before by Cardinal Gibbons, to his lips. Around his bedside when he died, were Mrs. Shea, his daughters, Ida and Emma Isabel, Jessie Tenny, the daughter of Judge Tenny, whose second wife was Sarah Brownson, daughter of Dr. O. A. Brownson, and Charles Ives, the grand-nephew of Dr. Levi Silliman Ives, former Episcopal Bishop of North Carolina, whose conversion to the Faith had caused so much surprise in 1852.

Dr. Shea's funeral took place on Friday, February 26, from St. Mary's Church, Elizabeth, New Jersey. Solemn pontifical Mass was celebrated by Bishop Wigger, of Newark, assisted by Father J. Havens Richards, S.J., President of Georgetown University, Rev. Patrick Corrigan, Rev. Eugene Carroll, Father

John H. Finnegan, S.J., Vice President of St. Peter's College, Jersey City, Rev. B. J. Mulligan, and Revs. J. S. Wallace and P. T. Carew. Among his many friends in the Sanctuary were Archbishop Corrigan, Bishop O'Farrell, of Trenton, Monsignor (Cardinal) Farley, then Vicar-General of the New York diocese, and Rev. Edward P. Allen, D.D., President of Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, at present Bishop of Mobile. The church was crowded with mourners, among them Professor Edwards of Notre Dame University, Richard H. Clarke, Morgan J. O'Brien, Thomas Addis Emmet, Patrick Farrelly, and Hermann Ridder, the proprietor of the *Catholic News*. Mr. Charles Carroll Lee, Vice President of the United States Catholic Historical Society, represented that organization, of which Dr. Shea was President. The chancel choir of St. Francis Xavier's Church, New York City, sang the Mass under the direction of Father Young, S.J. There was no eulogy, at Dr. Shea's request.

Telegrams and letters of condolence came from all parts of the country to the Shea household, offering sympathy, prayers and Masses for the happy repose of the soul of John Gilmary Shea. "You have reason to be proud of such a father" wrote Archbishop Ryan of Philadelphia, to Isabel Shea, "a father whose name will go down to posterity as the Historian of the American Church, and whose personal character was entirely worthy of this title." Bishop Maes of Covington, Kentucky, who always claimed in his humorous way that the mitre had snuffed out in himself a real historian, wrote that Dr. Shea had saved the great past of Catholicism in America from oblivion. To Mrs. Shea, Cardinal Gibbons said: "The loss you have sustained in the death of your husband, is largely shared by the hierarchy of the United States. I had hoped that the Lord would spare him to us till his great work was completed; but we must bow to the inscrutable will of God It will be a grave problem to discover the man who can complete the great work which he has been prosecuting all these years." Nugent Robinson called Dr. Shea "one of the noblest minded and cleanest hearted men I ever met. He was a *gentleman*; and this means everything. To me he was a good and sincere friend, helping me, when help was both gracious and grateful. I loved Dr. Shea, and shall have him in my heart always." James C.

Pilling wrote from Washington, D. C.: "Among my most pleasant memories will be the aid, advice and counsel given me by Dr. Shea in my earlier labors, and the pleasant encomiums passed upon those of a later day. Why were there not many more like him! Why should they not live always!"

Mrs. Shea did not long survive her distinguished husband. She passed away on November 11, 1897, at Elizabeth, New Jersey, and was buried by his side in St. Mary's Cemetery.

So far as the field of American Catholic history is in question, there has been no one since Dr. Shea's death to take his place or to carry on his work. The fourth volume of his *History* was published by Mrs. Shea in the course of the year (1892), and was dedicated to Father Patrick Corrigan, whose interest in the work and whose generous support had lightened the last three years of Dr. Shea's life. These years were indeed the only ones in the long stretch from 1852, when his heart was entirely free from financial anxiety. No preface was placed in the volume, since he had not had time to write one; and so we miss the intimate insight he usually gives into the problems connected with his researches and labors. The fourth volume covers the period of a phenomenal stride of the Catholic Church in the United States, from the Fifth Provincial Council of Baltimore to the Second Plenary Council (1843-1866). There are thirteen Books, each divided into chapters, following approximately the geographical growth of the Church in this country. As in his other volumes, illustrations abound, and his pages are replete with maps, portraits of bishops and priests, old churches and institutions, and with facsimiles of episcopal seals and signatures, all chosen with that rare judgment and taste which he displays in all his historical writings.

It is not easy to construct an estimate of John Gilmary Shea's historical works. They consist of so many varied aspects of the historical sciences, linguistics, philology, paleography, historical geography and chronology, the ethnology of the American Indians, critical editions of original texts, biographies, treatises on general historical subjects, his biblical studies, his contributions to encyclopedias and periodical reviews, and lastly the crowning work of his pen, his *History of the Catholic Church in the*

United States, that to appreciate with justice the colossal labors of the man, many factors need to be considered.

There was, first of all, the penury which attended him like Dark Care all through his life, except at the very end; a penury which forced him to accept posts for which, indeed, he was eminently fitted, but in which his great energies were wasted.

One of his last experiences of this nature was with a prominent Catholic publishing house of New York, who had engaged Dr. Shea to write a *History of the United States* for the elementary schools. The correspondence which passed between this firm and Dr. Shea reveals his inability to put into his narrative as facts, legends and anecdotes which historical scholarship had rejected. The volume was completed by another writer.

There was the almost unbelievable accumulation of correspondence imposed on him by reason of the very prominence his historical work had won for him. Those who knew his home life have said that these demands alone would have taxed the full time and far more than the patience of the average man, but which urbanity and courtesy would never allow him to neglect. Even when Father Carroll broke the news to him that his end was quickly approaching, he propped himself up in bed in order to answer five letters of inquiry on historical subjects which had come that morning. One characteristic example of his generous way of answering inquiries is the following letter, written a month before his death to Father Edward J. Schmitt, who was searching for the Bruté Mss.:

"I forward Volumes II and III, and before the end of the month will send Vol. IV. It has been a hard struggle to complete it and see it through the press, as my health is wretched; constant pain, sleeplessness and increasing weakness make literary labor very difficult.

"Bishop Hughes had a great esteem for Rev. Mr. Bruté and apparently very little for the Rev. Mr. Dubois, in his Emmitsburg days. He had an idea of writing a life of Bishop Bruté, and the papers were sent to him. As he was not a man of research or study, he did nothing. I asked his permission to examine them, but he refused although he sent the trunk or trunks to Mr. De Courcy. Bishop Bayley used his recollections of the French Revolution and took the papers to Seton Hall

College. Some were given away, some lost, and many perished at a fire. It was only a remnant that went to Dom Jansion. I learned later that this clergyman died of a contagious disease, and that after his death the papers in his room, including what he had selected from Bishop Bruté's papers, were burned.

"The Abbé Charles Bruté de Remur published in 1887 *Vie de Mgr. Bruté de Remur* (Rennes, Philhon & Herve publishers). He seems to have no documents and says he bases his work on an abridgment of Bishop Bayley's book by Lady Herbert of Lea. He never had Bishop Bayley's book. He used the books on the Sisters of Providence, Barberey's *Life of Mrs. Seton*, and letters of the Lamennais brothers (the good and the bad), which Mr. De Courcy printed in a French periodical.

"He speaks of the archives of St. Sulpice but apparently did not glean much, and letters in the possession of a Community of Brothers founded by De Lamennais.

"Now what material have we? He was a great letter writer, and writer of notes, often hasty and incorrect. Professor Edwards of Notre Dame must have many letters of his. I have a few, and others are scattered. His life at Mount St. Mary's seems most vague, and yet there was his great good accomplished. Miss Mary M. Meline went to Mt. St. Mary's and did some work on a history of that institution. She may help you.

"For his period as a bishop there is a series of contributions signed *Vincennes* in the volumes of the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, which are evidently and clearly his and have never been used by any writer about him.

"In his hasty way he misled Judge Law in regard to the first settlement of Vincennes, confounding a tanning venture at the mouth of the Ohio with Vincennes. I was very sorry to see this historical error dressed up in most fantastic guise in the Indianapolis Catholic paper, with intrinsic absurdities, making an expedition from Detroit accompanied by a Jesuit priest, when there were none at Detroit, and Cadillac hated them too heartily to have one there.

"When I am free from my volume, and can rest I will see what I have that may help you. But I feel that my days, especially my working days are numbered. Pray for me."

There was more besides the daily calls upon his time and energy; there was above all the apathy of the Catholics in the United States, high and low, regarding the preservation of their past history. His experience with the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York City would have forever dampened the enthusiasm of any other man; and it was only when those outside the Church, Sparks, Bancroft, Parkman and others, who bore witness to his scrupulous fairness and impartiality, called attention to the great work he was accomplishing in his field, that any recognition worthy of the name was given to Dr. Shea by those of the household of the Faith.

The great Church in whose honor and for whose glory he had labored never adequately requited him. What he accomplished was done in spite of all these and other hindrances that had best, probably, be passed over silently.

With these facts in mind, one comes to an examination of his works with less surety of being able to accord them a just critical analysis. All concede that as a history, his *History of the Church in the United States* can never be superseded. All who write within that field must come to his volumes as to the principal source of their researches. His scholarship is evident on every page. His style is persuasive, even eloquent; and there is an earnestness about his treatment of every point under consideration which leaves no room for doubt as to his irreproachable sincerity and zeal for the truth. No one has ever called into question Dr. Shea's impartiality. One of his friends said shortly after his death: "He was always the careful, conscientious historian, setting down naught in malice or bitterness. He searched for the truth, and having found it, declared it fearlessly. Now that he is gone from us, the wealth of his learning and the importance of his labors will be recalled with wonder and admiration."

On one point, and one alone, Dr. Shea's sense of fairness has been questioned at times: his admiration for the work of the Society of Jesus in this country. "He was one of us," one of the Jesuits in New York wrote at the time of his passing. The summer before he died, he had arranged, as President of the United States Catholic Historical Society, to lead its members in a pilgrimage to the Shrine of Our Lady of Martyrs at Auriers-

ville, where all were to receive Holy Communion and to offer up their prayers for the canonization of the Jesuit Martyrs. Acts of this nature, even in certain Catholic centers, were apt to be misinterpreted. Even the purchase of his great collection of thirty thousand documents and books by the Jesuits for the Georgetown Archives and library has been misjudged; and were he to have lived long enough to have heard such a statement, he would have been forced to humiliate himself in the one characteristic of his life wherein he was most sensitive, by confessing to the poverty which brought the old friends of his youth to his side, with a generous arrangement that helped him to face death more calmly. Strange as it may seem, the collection which came to Georgetown was not the first he was obliged to sell. Twice before, in times of stress, he had been forced to part with the library he had gathered, in order to preserve intact from the outside world the secret of the grinding poverty that encompassed him.

Dr. Shea's contacts with the Society of Jesus were not many. There were, of course, his six years as a scholastic in the Society at Fordham and in Montreal (1848-1852). There was Father Felix Martin's influence upon his vocation of historian; but Father Martin had returned to France in 1862. Two Jesuit institutions had honored him: one at the beginning of his career, the other at the end. In the hundreds of names he mentions as patrons of his *History*, there are not twenty Jesuits. By the time he came, in the full maturity of study and research, to compose the *History*, all the Fathers of the Society he had known in his youth had passed away. He was under no obligations to the Jesuits; in fact, the first two volumes of the *History*, in which he is said to show partiality to the Society, were through the press and published before their aid came to him. And what is all the more vital in any adequate judgment of his impartiality is that other scholars since his day who have worked independently among the same sources have reached his conclusions, and have accepted them as correct. Not that Dr. Shea's volumes are free from blunders. In some cases there are serious historical blunders which were partly unavoidable because all the source-material was not then available. But, viewing the wide range of his historical labors and especially the all-important fact that he practically had to pioneer his way into archives and libraries all

over the world for the sources he used, there is none to deny his accurate erudition, his unfailing objectivity, his cautious and prudent statements of the truth as he found it.

It is not in this aspect of his work that objections need be made against Dr. Shea, but in another, though less serious, phase of his scholarship. With the exception of the *Catholic Missions*, and the *Life of Archbishop Carroll*, Dr. Shea's historical volumes are lacking in symmetry. The first, third, and fourth volumes of the *History of the Church in the United States*, while well written, are constructed in an unsatisfactory way. The order of time is naturally kept in each section and chapter and book of these volumes, but the arrangement of each volume leaves much to be desired. Dr. Shea was not able to solve a problem which yet remains to be answered: how to treat in a systematic fashion geographical units that will stand apart ecclesiastically in spite of all identities and similarities.

Some day, perhaps, a new edition of the *History* will be attempted in order to bring the narrative down to within recent times, and it may then be found advisable to re-arrange all the material presented in the four volumes in a more logical and concise fashion. In this way, the repetitions in Dr. Shea's *History* will be avoided; the growth of Catholicism, especially after 1815, will assume a more logical presentation; and the social and political factors of our national life influencing that growth will not remain, as they now are, subdued in his pages.

Like all pioneers, Dr. Shea must wait a still longer time before the inherent worth of his labors is given the national recognition it deserves. His fellow-Catholics have not altogether failed in this posthumous honoring of their great historian and it is the pleasant duty of this chronicle to record the action taken by the Knights of Columbus, of Newark, N. J., who chose October 12, 1912, as the day to commemorate the Father of American Catholic History. A handsome bronze tablet had been placed in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Newark, with this inscription:

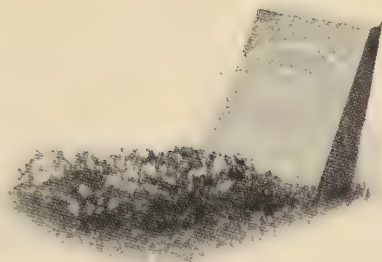
IN MEMORY OF
JOHN GILMARY SHEA
HISTORIAN OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH
IN THE UNITED STATES

BORN 1824

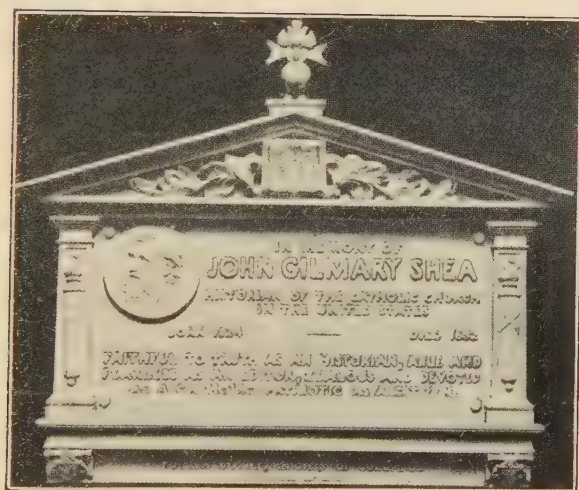
DIED 1892

FAITHFUL TO TRUTH AS AN HISTORIAN, ABLE
AND FEARLESS AS AN EDITOR, ZEALOUS AND
DEVOTED AS A CATHOLIC, PATRIOTIC
AS A CITIZEN

The tablet was unveiled on that afternoon by his daughter, Emma Isabel Shea, in the presence of the Bishops of Newark and Trenton, and of a great gathering of Dr. Shea's friends and admirers. The principal address was given by Dr. James J. Walsh, K. S. G., himself an indefatigable laborer in the field of Catholic history and apologetics. "About 1889 or 1890," Dr. Walsh said, "I had the privilege of meeting the man whom we are assembled to honor today under circumstances that gave me an opportunity to learn something of his character, and to recognize something of the value of the work that he was doing. I was a young teacher at the time, and I remember now a little amusedly how much I was mistaken in my estimate of the man. I was inclined to think him one of those rather impractical individuals, who, finding the ordinary ways of men difficult, had withdrawn into a life of books mainly so as to be able to avoid the hurry and bustle and the unceasing demands of the world around him. I had no idea at all of the vocational side of Mr. Shea's wonderful work and of the scholarship that it both called into play and developed, and of the magnificent memorial to his own intellectual patience and love for truth and to our pioneer Catholics here in America that he was raising. I knew that his histories represented an enormous amount of research, under the most difficult circumstances, but I had no idea that Mr. Shea was raising for himself a monument more lasting than bronze, one that will keep his name in memory among the scholars of this country when the vast majority of the practical men who have devoted themselves to business and made money will be forgotten. I suppose one has to be nearly a generation older than I was then properly to appreciate the work of such a scholar and a historical investigator.



DR. SHEA'S GRAVE



KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS MEMORIAL TABLET IN THE
 CATHEDRAL, NEWARK, N. J.

"After this act of reparation to his memory, which I feel due to him, I may try to tell you a little of what he did accomplish and of what it came to mean for the intellectual life of this country. It is more due to John Gilmary Shea than to any other that we have the precious records of the missionaries of the early generations of Catholics in this country; that we know what Catholics in the Revolution did to secure for us our precious heritage and liberty; besides all that he brought together with regard to the early days of Church organization here. The lives of our first great Catholic Bishop and his earliest successors; the career of our first great Catholic University, Georgetown; the history of the Councils of the Church here in America, those magnificent assemblages that knew so well how to weigh and duly consider the spiritual and religious needs of this country, all these were illuminated by the patient work, the careful investigation, but, above all, by what I may call, the historical genius of John Gilmary Shea. For the historical writer, like the poet, is born, not made. Only native genius enables a man to do it as Shea did it.

"Unfortunately, there is another aspect of the writing question in which the historical writer resembles the poet only too often. Some one said not long since that the poet is born, but not paid. The historical writer, especially who treats serious subjects seriously, is likely to find that his works sell quite as little as the poet's, but yet that he must make a living. In the face of this obstacle, which usually turns most men aside from devotion to the intellectual life for its own sake, John Gilmary Shea continued to devote himself to historical writing, caring little for the rewards, yet succeeding in a very practical way in making a living and having that happiness which comes to a man who is doing the work that he cares to do. After all there is no happiness except that. Blessed is the man who has found his work, and John Gilmary Shea had surely found his."

This act of gratitude atoned in a measure for the tardiness the Church in the United States had shown in recognizing the eminent merit of its most distinguished layman. In one of the keenest estimates of John Gilmary Shea, we are told that "the Catholic Church in America owes him a debt that can never be substantially repaid. It never had a more painstaking searcher after truth, never a more devoted lover of the truth, never a

more unselfish, self-sacrificing son than the modest and retiring scholar who worked for many years in her service at a pittance that was barely enough to keep body and soul together in the patient task of disseminating a knowledge of the work of the Church in the United States, and arousing an interest in that work wherever the English language was spoken."

A generation of students and writers in the field of American Catholic history has grown up since the death of John Gilmary Shea. Many of these have been satisfied to repeat in their own way the brilliant pages he contributed to the story of our Catholic past. Few have approached Shea in his genius for historical research or in his ability to bring to light the scattered sources of our history. None have equalled him in devotion to the cause of American Catholic history, and he stands, today, as he did when death called him in 1892, the leader in his chosen vocation. That he accomplished an uncommonly large amount of historical work is evidenced by the bibliography of his writings appended to these pages. No one knew so well as he the equally large amount of research and study he was forced to leave undone. His eyes were ever upon the generation which was to follow him, but the wish, so often spoken to those about him that American Catholic scholarship would furnish the student and writer who would carry on the work after he was gone, has not yet been fulfilled. In Shea's life, in the recital of the many difficulties amid which he carried on his great work, in the tragic poverty that was ever present all through his years almost until the end, and in the unselfish and uncomplaining way he worked out his self-appointed task, the aspirants of our day have an exemplar unique in the annals of lay apostleship. Wherever his memory is cherished as one who gave of his rich and mature scholarship to the Catholic Church in the United States, there will his zeal find an emulation; and his example a worthy following.

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In one of Shea's note-books there is an incomplete bibliographical list of his historical writings, drawn up probably in 1888. The number of works given is one hundred and thirty-seven. Seventy-four of these are original compositions and sixty-three are works which Shea edited. To this number should be added the thirty-two volumes of the *Catholic Directory* which he edited from 1858 to 1890. The *Bibliography of John Gilmary Shea*, published by Rev. Edward Spillane, S. J., after Shea's death, in *HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES*, December, 1912, contains 247 titles, ranging from short historical sketches to works on general and special topics, reprints of historical documents, devotional works, and publications of original sources. The prodigious activity of Dr. Shea is unique in American historiography. There is no doubt that many unsigned articles exist which would add considerably to the complete bibliography of his works.

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JUDGE WILLIAM GASTON OF NORTH CAROLINA

A paper read before the Annual Meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society, At the Catholic Club, New York City, February 2, 1926

BY EDWARD F. MCSWEENEY, LL.D.

It is the high privilege of this Catholic Historical Society to present as a matter of policy, as well as of duty, the story of outstanding characters in National Catholic History; men who during their lives gave evidence of such power and superior attainments as to make the nation their debtor. It is eighty-two years since Judge William Gaston of North Carolina passed to his last reward, and it is within the bounds of extreme moderation to say that since the American Revolution (during the progress of which he was born in 1778) there is no Southerner affiliated with the Catholic Church, whose work did more for his country and his Faith.

The work and achievements of Judge Gaston are the more important at this time, when the country is going through a distressing manifestation of its "chronic disease," intolerance, and we are reminded by a portrayal of the qualities of his mind and heart, how he was enabled to stop the assault of bigotry in his section during his generation.

William Gaston was the son of Dr. Alexander Gaston, a descendant of Jean Gaston, a Huguenot, who left France in 1640, going to Scotland, where he died, and from whence, at the time of persecution of Non-Conformist Protestants, his descendants went to Ballmena, County Antrim, Ireland, where Alexander Gaston was born. He received his medical education at the University of Edinburgh, after which he held a commission as surgeon in the Royal Navy. Upon his resignation, he came to America, landing with others of the family, at Marblehead, Massachusetts. Part of the family went to Connecticut and Dr. Gaston to New Berne, North Carolina.

When the trouble arose between England and the Colonies, Dr. Gaston, an ardent Whig, espoused the cause of his adopted



Wm. Gaston

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JUDGE WILLIAM GASTON



country, becoming a member of the Committee of Safety for the District of New Berne, a justice of the Court of Pleas and later judge of the Court of Oyer and Terminer.

His wife, Margaret Sharpe, was a native of Cumberland County, England, "of devout and highly respectable Catholic parentage," and educated in France at a convent in Calais. On coming to America, she visited her brother in New Berne, North Carolina, where she met Dr. Gaston and was married to him, May, 1775. On September 19, 1778, William Gaston was born in New Berne. Another child, Jane, became the wife of John Lewis Taylor, Chief Justice of North Carolina 1818-1829.

In August 1781, Dr. Gaston met a tragic death, the story of which was found in Judge Gaston's own version written in 1834. After referring to the march of Major Craig, the British Commander in eastern Carolina, Judge Gaston continues:

"Dr. Gaston was one of those who were peculiarly obnoxious to the Tories and it was deemed advisable for all such to keep out of the way of their ferocity. He had returned to his plantation, but misled by some information respecting the movements of the detachment, returned to town on Saturday and stayed with his family until breakfast of the next day. Rumors of the approach of the Tories, joined with the entreaties of Mrs. Gaston, induced him to revisit his plantation. He had quitted the house, but a short time, when a company of mounted men consisting of Tories, galloped into town and proceeded directly to the wharves. Mrs. Gaston fearful that her husband might have not crossed the ferry, rushed down the street to the old county wharf, and found them firing at him. He was in the ferry boat a short distance from the shore and alone. She threw herself between him and his assailants, and on her knees with all a woman's eloquence, implored them to spare his life. The captain answered by damming him for a rebel, called for a rifle, levelled it over her shoulder and stretched him a corpse."

When in later years, William Gaston was a Member of Congress and in a discussion in regard to the War of 1812, was charged by his opponent with want of patriotism, he retorted, "I was baptized an American in the blood of a murdered father."

The death of her husband left the young widowed mother in a strange land, without relations or means, with two children;

the son, William, the oldest being only three years of age. In a sketch of Mrs. Gaston in Mrs. Elletts' "Women of the American Revolution," it is said the great object of her life was the education of her son, and the imbuing into his mind, of the high principles, the noble integrity of the Christian Faith, so conspicuous in her self. She was a devout, practical member of the Catholic Church. After her son's marriage, she resided with him, and was to be found at all hours with her Bible or her favorite book of devotion, 'The Following of Christ,' by Thomas Kempis. During the thirty-one years of her widowhood, she never laid aside her habiliments of mourning, nor did she ever make a visit."

In his great speech in the convention of 1835, Judge Gaston said: "It is not easy for a man to speak of himself, or his principles, without disgusting egotism. It is enough for me to say, that trained from infancy to worship God, according to the usages of the most ancient and numerous society of Christians in the world, upon arrival at mature age, I deliberately embraced, from conviction, the Faith that had been early instilled into my mind by maternal piety." In any study of the life of William Gaston, emphasis must be placed upon the high qualities and singular devotion of his mother and her influence on his life.

When her son was but thirteen years of age, Mrs. Gaston sent him to Philadelphia for preparation for college, under the care of Father Francis A. Fleming, O. P., who must have had an influence on the young man, second only to his mother. He was the first pupil to enter at Georgetown College, and a Hall at the College is named for him. Dr. Plunkett, the president of Georgetown, wrote his mother, "I owe him the justice to assure you that he is the best scholar and most exemplary youth in Georgetown." Because of ill health, his studies at Georgetown came to a close at the end of two years, and his mother brought him home, where he studied for two years before entering Princeton College. September 12, 1794. He was graduated at the head of the class of 1796, and with the highest honors. His Commencement Day in 1796 was indeed a spiritual one, for on the day before he journeyed to Philadelphia to make his Confession and receive Holy Communion. "Few Institutions in America can boast of having matriculated a man of higher intellectual attainments and more spotless character."

After his college days, Judge Gaston returned to New Berne and entered upon the study of the law with Francois Savier Martin of New Berne, who later became Chief Justice of Louisiana. At the age of twenty, in 1798, he was admitted to the bar. In politics he was a Federalist, and when that party ceased to exist, became a Whig. "A descendant of French Huguenots, coming from Ireland to this country. An orphan through the savage cruelty of British soldiers, and a member of the Roman Catholic Church. There seemed but little here from which to fashion an ardent disciple of Alexander Hamilton." **

It is said in the history of North Carolina, that the first Constitution of the State was written or inspired by John Locke, and it has been suggested that Gaston's training and association at Princeton in some measure directed his political opinions and party alignment. Certainly they were the result of intellectual conviction, rather than of personal or local sympathy.

William Gaston's legislative career began in the State Senate in 1799. In 1808 he represented New Berne in the General Assembly. The speaker of the House of Commons, having been made a judge of the Superior Court, Gaston was elected Speaker. Mr. Gaston was an ardent Federalist. With his party, generally, he believed that Mr. Jefferson and his followers were subservient to French influence. He thoroughly detested and distrusted Napoleon.

Elected a member of the thirteenth and fourteenth Congresses, he was in opposition to the administration and the current of political thought and action. He was recognized as a parliamentary speaker of very high order. A well informed and thoughtful statesman; conservative in temperament and safe in counsel. During a debate in February, 1814, a spirited passage occurred between Calhoun and Gaston. Only the frank and manly conduct of both gentlemen avoided an unpleasant, if not serious result; both being high-spirited, honorable men, were prompt to make and accept the *amende honorable*. In 1816, in a motion to amend the standing rules by striking out one in regard to the Previous Question, a matter which in the form of cloture

*Stephen B. Weeks, John Hopkins University, *Georgetown College Journal*, Washington, D. C., Feb. 1899. No. 5, p. 199.

***Great American Lawyers*, by William Draper Lewis, Vol. 2, p. 44.

is prominent today, he replied to a speech by Henry Clay by saying: "If his (Mr. Clay's) ingenuity and zeal combined, could not form for the previous question no other defense than which we have heard, the previous question cannot be defended. If on his shield it finds so slight a shelter, it must fall a victim to the just though delayed vengeance of an awakened indignant freedom. If Hector cannot protect his Troy the doom of Troy is fixed by fate." Mr. Gaston obviously had the better of this debate regarding which Governor Swain gives the following account:

"Eminent statesman and patriot that he was, Mr. Clay was nevertheless human, and retired from the contest rather soured. They did not meet again for many years, the feeling ranking in Mr. Clay's heart until during a visit to Washington, they met at Mr. Seaton's table. Each gave a token of recognition, but preserved a stately reserve, until, with an expression well understood by both, the host offered the sentiment, 'friendship in marble, enmities in dust.' Kind and cordial intercourse ensued and they were personal and political friends during the remaining part of their lives."

When Clay visited Raleigh, June 25, 1844, he paid a handsome tribute to Gaston, who had taken a prominent part in the debates, and was regarded as one of the leaders of his party. At the end of his second Congressional term, he retired, declining to enter national politics again, although he was offered and undoubtedly could have secured, the United States Senatorship from North Carolina in 1818. Elected to the State Senate of North Carolina, as the chairman of the Committee on Judiciary, he wrote the bill which brought into existence the Supreme Court. This was represented in two reports which rank with Webster's speech in Massachusetts in 1820 and with Choate on Judicial Tenure in 1853. Daniel Webster in reply to an inquiry from a member of Congress from Ohio, as to the greatest man in the War Congress of 1812-15, said "The *greatest* man was William Gaston"; adding "I myself came in along after him." ***

After an interval of five years, devoted to the practice of law, Mr. Gaston was returned to the House of Commons in 1824, and continued to serve until 1831. After 1820, as a lawyer, he appeared in nearly every case of importance. In his early thirties

****The Green Bag*, Page 524, November, 1892.

he had become the leader of the bar of Western North Carolina, having made an impression on the learned and observant men in the United States, much beyond the limits of his State.

The University of Pennsylvania conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws in 1819, followed by Columbia College in 1825 and Harvard University in 1826. Regarding this degree, in a letter addressed to Mr. Sullivan, a distinguished member of the Boston Bar, Judge Joseph Storey said, "When I mentioned Mr. Gaston's name, there was instantaneous and unanimous assent by the whole corporation. My reason for naming Mr. Gaston was because he is one of the most distinguished American lawyers in the highest sense of the phrase; because he is eminent as a statesman and because as a private gentleman he is all that one could wish or desire. Another is that he is a Catholic. I was most anxious that a Protestant University should show its liberality by doing homage to a gentleman of a different faith and thus honor to itself by a fine exhibition of Christian Virtue. I considered our appointment as conferring honor upon ourselves and not on Mr. Gaston. I am proud that he should stand on our catalog as truly a doctor of laws, whom to know, was to honor."

The test of William Gaston's fame, as worthy to be classed among great American lawyers, is indicated by the above, as well as by the fact that he is included in the series of "Great American Lawyers" by William Draper Lewis, Dean of the Law Department of the University of Pennsylvania, being associated with John Marshall, Rufus Choate, Daniel Webster, Joseph Storey, Jeremiah Mason and Roger Sherman Baldwin. It is said that Judge Gaston had fewer reversals of his decisions than any State judge in the United States during his term. Dr. Battle said, "His decisions were prepared with careful study, their argument was cogent in logic, mighty in language and fortified by precedent." At the University of North Carolina Judge Gaston delivered the literary address to the graduating class. Dr. Battle says the address, "met the public favor to a most extraordinary degree. In 1858, fourteen years after his death, a fifth edition was published by the literary societies of the University

*Battle, *History of the University*, Vol. 344.

of North Carolina. The fourth edition contains a letter of high commendation by Judge Marshall, who said: "If anything could surpass the sound and correct advice given to the students for the direction of his early youth, it would be that intended to govern his conduct when entering on the great theatre of human action." Chief Justice Marshall was heard to say, more than once, he "would cheerfully resign if by so doing he could secure the appointment of Judge Gaston in his stead."*

In this same address, made twenty-nine years before the opening of the Civil War, referring to the question of human slavery, Mr. Gaston said:

"Full well do you know to what I refer, for on this subject there is with all of us, a morbid sensitiveness which gives warning even to an approach to it. Disguise the truth as we may, and throw the blame where we will, it is slavery which more than any other cause, keeps us back in the career of improvement. It stifles industry and represses enterprise; it is fatal to economy and providence; it discourages skill; it imperils our strength as a community and poisons morals at the fountain head. How this evil is to be encountered, how subdued, is indeed a difficult and delicate inquiry, which this is not the time to examine, nor the occasion to discuss. I felt, however, that I would not discharge my duty without referring to this subject as one which ought to engage the prudence, moderation and firmness of those who, sooner or later, must act decisively upon it."

Dr. Battle adds: "It is remarkable that when the public mind was inflamed peculiarly on account of the bloody insurrection of Nat Turner in the preceding year, the orator should have frankly acknowledged himself an advocate of the ultimate abolition of slavery and the audience cheered the utterance. This bold language did not weaken his influence. In addition, the last part of this speech was a spirited attack upon the doctrine of nullification then fomenting beyond the southern borders of North Carolina.

Chief Justice Taylor of the Supreme Court died December 29, 1829. Chief Justice Henderson who succeeded him died August 13, 1833. On August 15th, Mr. Thomas Devereux, wrote to Mr. Gaston pleading with him to accept a nomination to the Supreme

*"The Supreme Court of North Carolina." *The Green Bag*, Boston, November, 1892. Page 527.

Court, saying, "Nothing, I fear, can save the Supreme Court unless you will consent to take a seat upon it." On May 19, answering this letter, Judge Gaston said, "that until then he had supposed himself exempt from the necessity for deciding whether he should not accept an office under the State, which under Article XXXII of the Constitution of 1776 said 'That no person who shall deny the being of God, or the truth of the Protestant Religion, etc. etc., shall be capable of holding any office or place or trust or profit in the civil department within this state.' I then came to the conclusion, aided by one of the best legal understandings in the State, that while some of the framers of the Constitution intended to prohibit Roman Catholics from holding office, judicially, it must be expounded as not declaring such liability.' In a letter to Judge Ruffin, he said, "I am very decidedly persuaded, and have long been, that Roman Catholics cannot without giving to the terms of the Constitution a latitude and force altogether unauthorized, be excluded from civil office."

At this time, Mr. Gaston was in debt for \$8,000, which from the present income of his practice, he had planned to pay off in two years. The judicial salary was but \$2,500. On September 3, 1833, Governor Swain and two other members of the bar, whom he had consulted, joined in a letter to him, saying that they had arrived at a perfect conformity of opinion, after admitting that his situation in regard to financial matters was serious one, they conclude, "In a word, we think your appointment to the bench the only event that will preserve the court," upon which Mr. Gaston having made a loan to be repaid yearly replied that "If the General Assembly thought proper to call him to the Bench of the Supreme Court, he would accept." Among others consulted about the propriety of Mr. Gaston taking this office, despite Article XXXIII of the Constitution, Chief Justice Marshall advised that he could not see the least impropriety in his doing this, and thereupon in the General Assembly of November, 1833, he was elected by a very large majority.

In Judge Gaston's last letter to his eldest daughter he expressed his ideal of the judicial office: "To administer justice in the last resort, to expound and apply the laws for the advancement of right and the suppression of wrong, is an ennobling and indeed a holy office, and the exercise of its functions, while it raises

my mind above the mists of earth, above cares and passions, into a pure and serene atmosphere, always seems to impart fresh vigor to my understanding and a better temper to my whole soul."

In a letter to the editor of the *Lexington, Virginia, Gazette*, which had printed a letter attacking him for consenting to the election, and making charges as to his reasons for doing this, he said: "I have never had any intercourse, verbal or written, direct or indirect with the Bishop of Baltimore on the subject, and I did not directly or indirectly confer with any individual belonging, or professing to belong, to the Catholic Church (out of my immediately household), until after I had announced my unconditional assent to be nominated for the office." Of the court, composed of Ruffin, Daniel and Gaston, Dr. Battle said: "No State of the Union, perhaps not even the United States, ever had a superior bench, few ever had its equal. At home and abroad, their decisions, as a rule, had the weight of established and unquestioned law. All three judges had unimpeachable rectitude of purpose, all of them had the unlimited confidence of the bar and laity, all filled with the desire to decide correctly the cases brought before them and to give a right reason for their decision. Their personal relations were harmonious."

In 1835, a convention called to consider amendments to the State Constitution as the result of a long and intensely exciting struggle between the eastern and western sections, met at Raleigh, June 4, 1835. Nathaniel Macon, who had a long and distinguished record as a congressman and senator from North Carolina, was unanimously elected president. Judge Gaston sat for New Berne. One of the first propositions considered was to take from free persons of color the right to vote which they had previously held in the State. Judge Gaston opposed this, saying that inquiry was not whether the right should be then granted or be taken away. A person of that class who possessed a freehold, was an honest man and perhaps a Christian, he did not think should be politically excommunicated, and have an additional mark of degradation fixed upon him solely on account of his color. Let them know they are a part of the body politic, and they will feel an attachment to the form of government, and have a fixed interest in the

prosperity of the community, and will exercise an important influence over the slaves.

On the proposed amendment to the Clause XXXII of the Constitution, Judge Gaston made the last and most carefully considered and prepared of all his speeches. The article in question although obscure in its terms, was construed to exclude members of the Catholic Church from holding offices of "Honor, trust or profit in the civil government of the State." It was proposed to strike out the word "Protestant" and insert the word "Christian." A number of delegates took part in the debate which took a wide range in the domain of doctrine, dogma and history. After a number of arguments, most of which were in favor of retaining Clause XXXII as it stood, Mr. Gaston slowly arose with great deliberation, amid breathless silence, and for two days riveted the attention of all present by a wonderful speech, during which references to the three great exemplars of religious liberty and toleration on American soil, Calvert, Lord Baltimore, Roger Williams, and William Penn, one Catholic and two Protestants, make the address as a whole, properly to be regarded as the national classic on this subject.

Gaston's speech answers every argument against the Catholic Church of 1926. The amendment to substitute "Christian" for "Protestant" was adopted 74 to 51. The speech was widely circulated over the United States, as a noble defense of religious freedom.* Mr. George W. Bancroft wrote Judge Gaston thanking him for mentioning him in his argument. "Still more, that which I value more highly than praise (from a man whose name I have never heard mentioned but with praise) is that what I had written furnished an argument favorable to intellectual liberty. It is the highest reward to which I could have aspired. On reading your speech I could not but say how much my heart is with the cause which you defended, and how deeply I was moved by finding myself summoned as a witness in its defense."

Commenting on the speech, an editorial in the Alexandria, Virginia, *Gazette*, copied with approval by the Newbern, North Carolina, *Spectator*, says:

*It is printed in full elsewhere in this volume of *Records and Studies*.—
EDITOR.

“Without yielding our assent to the religious opinions of the gifted orator, we were yet irresistibly hurried to all his conclusions drawn therefrom, in favor of equal privileges. Whilst he manfully defended his own creed, he cast no injurious imputations upon the belief of others; but, showing from his own sentiments and actions, that Catholics deserved to be trusted and honoured as much as Protestants, called upon the State to do justice to itself, to the cause of religious liberty, and the principles of true republicanism, in abolishing the odious distinction that had been set up in times of prejudice and bad feeling. Some portions of the speech to which we refer are highly oratorical—others are purely argumentative; but, throughout the whole, the entire production is distinguished for that sterling good sense characteristic of its author. There is about it, too, much of that old-fashioned frankness, candor, and honesty, which must strongly recommend it to every mind imbued with a love for these virtues. In this effort, Judge Gaston has added another honor to those which already crowd upon and thicken around his name. North Carolina may well be proud of such a son.”

Judge Gaston devoted his leisure moments to classical studies and cultivation of style. By diligent and laborious attention to the art of composition, he acquired a style in speaking and writing of the highest quality. The address in 1832, upon the obligations of college men to their advantages, given at Chapel Hill, N. C., went through five editions. The last in the sixties, twenty years after his death. In December, 1860, Volume X of the *North Carolina University Magazine*, published an article on Judge Gaston as a literary man which brought together extracts of his addresses on various topics, which have preserved a few of his many lessons of wisdom and patriotism taken from his public addresses, speeches and legislative reports, such as “Encomium on Integrity;” “Contrast Between a Patriot and Demagogue;” “The Majesty of the Law;” George Washington.” But his greatest effort was the one on “Religious Liberty,” the national classic on this subject, in the Constitutional Convention of 1835, which is now reprinted by this Society for the information of the present generation.

The Constitutional Convention of 1835 was a fitting conclusion to Judge Gaston’s parliamentary labors. He never again sat

in a legislative body. His last address before a public assembly was made at the commencement of Princeton University in 1835, at which the honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by his Alma Mater. Many invitations to make addresses were found in his papers after his death, all of which he declined on the plea of his judicial labors and his advanced age.

The Whigs having elected a majority of the North Carolina General Assembly in 1840, a desire to elect him United States Senator was generally expressed, but he declined. On December 20, 1840, Governor Graham, then United States Senator, wrote him that the North Carolina delegation in Congress desired to solicit from President-elect Harrison, Judge Gaston's appointment as a member of his cabinet, but again he declined, saying that it was his desire to keep aloof from politics for the rest of his days. He died in harness after a day's work as a Judge, January 23, 1844.

Judge Gaston's only son, Alexander Gaston, left two sons, William and Hugh. William was graduated from West Point and entered the army, to be killed in a battle with Indians on the western frontier. Hugh, the other son, was killed in the Battle of Sharpsburgh.

When Judge Gaston died in 1844, public meetings were held in many counties, and resolutions expressive of the loss to the state were passed unanimously by the general assembly. "A city and two towns, Gastonia and Gaston bear his name, a tribute never given to another man in the history of the Old North States."*

The colored people of the district in which he was born and bred attended his funeral in a body, and arranged for the placing of his picture in the dwelling of every free man of color in town. At a meeting held in St. John's Lodge, New Berne, these colored people said:

"Others have spoken of him as a great statesman, a learned judge, a ripe scholar. They are better judges of these things than we are; in our humble situation we shall confine ourselves to his work among us. As our neighbor, our friend and kind protector, it is our privilege to speak from personal observation.

*The *Green Bag*, Boston, November, 1892.

Where so many virtues and graces are blended in the same individual, it is not easy to particularize. Judge Gaston was an example in word and conversation, in spirit and purity. He was a friend of the widow and the orphan. He was a kind and indulgent master—the most of his servants can read and write, the consequence is they are a most intelligent set of people.

“Judge Gaston was a friend of emancipation, he not only emancipated several of his own people, but he bought others and set them free. He was a Christian in deed and in truth; his religion was not a thing of form and decencies, it was a pervading principle that entered into all his concerns, all his thoughts and all his hopes. His course was marked with no obliquity, his path was a shining light—the voice of calumny shrunk abashed at his presence.”

When Washington was elected President, the Catholics of the United States, in December, 1789, made an address to him congratulating him on receiving the Presidency by unanimous vote, to which he replied:

“As mankind becomes more liberal, they will be apt to allow, that all of these, who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community, are equally entitled to the protection of civil government. I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality, and I presume that your fellow citizens will not forget the patriotic part that you took in the accomplishment of their revolution, and the establishment of their government or the important assistance which they received from a nation in which the Catholic religion is professed.”

While this principle was laid down fairly by the “Father of his Country,” who always lived up to his preachings on this subject, it took years of constant struggle to make religious liberty, not toleration, a fact in this country. The American principle is religious liberty *not* toleration. For example, only a little more than a decade after the Constitutional prohibition against Catholics, put there by the Huguenot, John Jay, was repealed, in New York State, another Huguenot, Judge Gaston of North Carolina, was successful in a similar effort, in spite of the fact that he was a Catholic, by the very force of his character, and high standing in his State. New Jersey followed a decade

later and New Hampshire not for forty years. Religious discrimination has been the scourge of the world. Concealed under some plausible excuse, in some form or other, it has brought misery, death and trouble to mankind.

As Judge Gaston said in his address at Raleigh:

"When the American Colonies were settled, there was no country in Europe which had not its established Church. In the train of this establishment, followed the usual consequences of intolerance and persecution. He who did not believe according to the law was punished as a disloyal subject. Degraded, fined, imprisoned, plundered and proscribed at home, because of the exercise of man's noblest prerogative, the right to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience, different sects of European Christians fled from this detested tyranny to the western side of the Atlantic."

From the end of the American Revolution in 1820, there was practically no emigration to the United States; the best authorities setting the figure at 250,000. It is to the glory of the United States that substantially all its presidents have been free from the vice of intolerance. Senator Hoar once said that "from the coming of the Pilgrims until after the American Revolution, the people of this country were obliged constantly to fight, under the Stuarts, Cromwell and the Hanoverians, for religious and political freedom."* The first thirty years after Yorktown, was a constant struggle for our economic rights, and against the efforts of imperialism, which can always call on religious intolerance for help, to nullify the work of Washington, an effort which lasted until Jackson's victory at New Orleans in 1815.

Following Catholic Emancipation in England came the Reform Bill of 1832. The results of this measure left widespread popular discontent. The middle classes who had asked aid in obtaining their own enfranchisement once the Reform Bill was law, showed an indifference or opposition to further disturb the political arrangements of the nation. The workman demanded what was called a People's Charter based on six claims. This demand increased by the misery due to failing harvests, dear food, reduced

**Jay's Treaty*. Knights of Columbus Historical Series.

wages. Unemployment resulted, in the thirties, to what approached a revolution.*

Radicalism, the first cousin of religious hatred, was in the air. It was soon to invade the United States.

In 1833, the Ursuline Convent was burned down in Charlestown, Massachusetts, and odious crimes against Catholics committed. In Philadelphia, St. Michael's and St. Augustine's Churches were burned. Houses owned by Catholics were burned also and the occupants shot down as they emerged. A similar spirit was being manifested in Kentucky.

In 1826, one William Morgan, a New Yorker, mysteriously disappeared. He had published a book purporting to reveal the secrets of Free Masonry, and the public assumed that the order had made away with him. Out of this belief there grew a widespread opposition to secret societies of any kind; college Greek letter societies, including even the eminently proper but innocuous Phi Beta Kappa, all came under the ban. Masons, according to report, so completely controlled the judicial machinery of the country that no Mason could ever be punished for crime; no jury dare to convict and no judge sentence a brother of the order.* Public feeling became very bitter and insisted that all such orders, especially the Masons must go. The excitement was carried over into politics and an anti-Masonic political party was formed in 1831, dedicated to the destruction of the Masons. Except for the fact that it introduced the National Party convention as a new piece of nominating machinery for President and Vice President this new party never got anywhere. Its standard bearer was William Wirt of Maryland and, a former Mason, who after nominating, defended the order in the very convention pledged to its destruction. But one of its effects was to solidify the feeling against Catholicism.

This was the larger background in Europe and the United States under which Judge Gaston approached in 1835 his struggle in North Carolina with a population of 737,980 in 1830, mostly Baptists and Methodists, very few Catholics, the last State but one to ratify the Constitution of the United States.

*McCarthy. *History of Our Own Times*.

**Growth of the United States*. Ralph Volney Harlow, p. 363.

I have had a personal experience of the far-reaching influence left by Judge Gaston. A few years ago, I was on a holiday in West Virginia and attended Mass in the chapel built for this purpose by the hotel. The Mass was said by a priest, name of William Gaston Paine. Later on the hotel veranda in conversation with him, I said: "One of my best friends in Massachusetts is William Gaston, one of the leading citizens of the Commonwealth, whose father, another William Gaston, had been Governor of Massachusetts in 1875, and I am curious to know how you, Father Paine, happened to have these given names." To which he replied, "My grandfather was of an important Virginia family, a devout Catholic, in affectionate deference to whom, his daughter gave the privilege of naming her boys as they were born. The oldest was named Charles Borromeo Paine. I came along next and was given the name of William Gaston Paine in honor of Judge William Gaston of North Carolina."

I congratulate the United States Catholic Historical Society in reviving the story of this great American Catholic, of a century ago, whose courage, intelligence, and reputation as a statesman, jurist, writer and orator became nation-wide, but especially whose devotion to the Catholic Church in a section where he was standing practically alone, should make his name a memory to be revered by Catholics the nation over.

I am indebted to Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, Secretary to His Eminence Cardinal Dougherty of Philadelphia, for the following information concerning Father Fleming, Judge Gaston's early preceptor:

It would appear that the Rev. Francis A. Fleming, O. P., arrived in Philadelphia on December 3, 1789, and was appointed one of the pastors of St. Mary's, which was one of the pioneer churches of Philadelphia. He had been Rector of the Irish College, Lisbon. He was an eloquent preacher, and his sermon on St. Patrick's Day, 1790, published by Mathew Carey, has the distinction of being the first sermon on the Patron of Ireland to be published in the United States.

The memory of Father Fleming is particularly cherished because of his heroism during the various epidemics of yellow fever, which ravaged Philadelphia in the latter part of the eighteenth century. During this period all who could do so fled from the

city to escape the dread disease. Father Fleming and his companion, Father Keating, remained in the city to render corporal and spiritual aid to the stricken. When they were presented with a testimonial of gratitude for what they had done, Father Keating and Father Fleming replied: "On viewing the scenes of distress which presented themselves on these occasions, we should become objects of the censure pronounced against the priest and levite in that beautiful passage of the gospel to which you allude."

Father Fleming also gave public proof of his scholarship as well as of his priestly devotion by his part in the religious controversy that waged in the newspapers of Philadelphia in the year 1792. The Rev. Robert Annan, a Scotch Presbyterian, attacked the Church's Doctrine of Indulgences in the *National Gazette*. He was answered in six numbers in the *Gazette* by Father Fleming, writing over the name of Verax, in a treatise, which contained a careful exposition of the whole subject. That Father Fleming enjoyed the confidence of his ecclesiastical superiors is clear from the fact that he was appointed Vicar General of the Northern District of the vast diocese of Baltimore by Bishop Carroll. Father Fleming died a victim of the yellow fever in October, 1793. He was buried in St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia.

In the estimate of writers of American history, Judge William Gaston of North Carolina shares with the following the honor of being one of the greatest, if not the first, Catholic produced by the South since the Revolution: Archbishop John Carroll, born in Maryland, 1753; Charles Carroll, born in Maryland, 1737; Father Abram Joseph Ryan, born in Kentucky, 1839 (poet priest of the Civil War); Admiral Ralph Semmes, Commander, Alabama, born in Maryland, 1809; James Ryder Randall, author of "Maryland, My Maryland," born in Maryland, 1834; Joel Chandler Harris (Uncle Remus), born in Georgia, 1848; Major General James Longstreet, C. S. A., born in South Carolina; Rear Admiral William S. Benson, Chief of Naval Operations, World War, born in Georgia, 1855.

REFERENCES: *History of Georgetown University*, Washington, 1891; *Bibliografia Catholica Americana*, Finotti, New York, 1872; *The Metropolitan*, Baltimore, 1856, 485 *et seq.*; *Catholic Pioneers of America*, New York, 1882; *Catholic Builders of the Nation*, Vol. IV, pp. 274, 275; Vol. I, pp. 177-345, 1923; *The Green Bag*; Publications of Georgetown University, etc.

JUDGE GASTON'S PLEA FOR TOLERATION

EDITOR'S NOTE—As stated by Mr. McSweeney in his address the splendid plea for political and religious toleration made by Judge William Gaston at the North Carolina convention in 1835, was immediately given wide circulation in a pamphlet. The Society is under an additional obligation to Mr. McSweeney for having a photostat copy made of that now great literary treasure and it is here reprinted in full. The title page reads:

TUESDAY, JUNE 30, 1835

SPEECH
ON
RELIGIOUS TOLERATION
BY
JUDGE WILLIAM GASTON
OF
CRAVEN
AT THE
CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION
HELD AT
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA
JUNE 4, 1835
REPRODUCED FROM THE
PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES
RALEIGH, 1836

After Prayer by the Rev. Mr. Jamieson,

The Convention resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, Mr. Fisher in the Chair, on the unfinished business of yesterday.

Mr. Gaston of Craven, spoke as follows:

Mr. *Chairman*—The peculiar situation in which I am known to stand with respect to the question now under consideration, and the character of the debate which has already taken place upon it, may be thought to render it indelicate in me to interfere at all in the discussion. But no considerations of delicacy ought

to deter me from the full and faithful performance of my duties as a Delegate of the People in this convention. Besides, silence is likely to subject me to much greater misconstruction than the most frank and fearless exposition of my opinions. At all events the latter is the course to which I am prompted by inclination as well as by a sense of propriety, and therefore is it, that I must ask the patient and kind attention of this Committee. And, sir, in reference to the peculiar situation to which I have already alluded, permit me to embrace this opportunity, the most public and imposing which can be presented, and the first fit one that has yet been offered, to make an explanation to the People of North Carolina, of the circumstances under which I accepted and continue to occupy the high Judicial office, which they have been pleased to confer upon me, and which, some persons may doubt whether I am constitutionally qualified to hold. I am not, indeed, aware that any one decent citizen of the State has called in question the purity of my motives or questioned the propriety of my conduct, or has expressed dissatisfaction at my course. But this is an age of detraction. Calumnies are the ordinary weapons of warfare with religious as well as political factions; and if I have not yet been assailed by slander on this subject, it is not unlikely that I soon shall be. This explanation is therefore due, not only to my own character, but to the character of the State, whose honor is always involved in the fair fame of her sons. When the vacancy occurred on the Bench of the Supreme Court, which was occasioned by the death of my excellent friend, Chief Justice Henderson, I was urged to accept of the office by reasons which I found it impossible to resist. It is needless to say more of these reasons, than that, in my judgment, they made out a *plain case of duty* not to decline the appointment, unless the Constitution excluded me from it because of my religious opinions. That Constitution, I had repeatedly sworn to support; and, therefore, whether it did or did not thus disqualify me, was a serious question, and well worthy of the fullest consideration. It is not easy for a man to speak of himself or of his principles without disgusting egotism. It will be enough for me to say, that trained, from infancy, to worship God according to the usages, and carefully instructed in the creed of the most ancient and numerous society of Christians in the world, after arrival at

mature age, I deliberately embraced, from conviction, the faith which had been early instilled into my mind by maternal piety. Without, as I trust, offensive ostentation, I have felt myself bound outwardly to profess, what I inwardly believe, and am therefore an avowed though unworthy member of the Roman Catholic Church. Upon examining the Constitution of the State with respect to its requirement of a religious test, it is apparent that the subject is not free from difficulty. The Bill of Rights (*section 19*), which is made *the basis* of that Constitution, declares, "that all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own conscience," and the 34th section of the Constitution further provides "that there shall be no establishment of any religious church or denomination in this State, in preference to any other." But, while these provisions seem to contemplate a perfect equality of religious tests, the 32d section of the Constitution declares, "that no man who shall deny the being of God, or the truth of the Protestant religion, or the divine authority of either the old or New Testaments, or who shall hold religious principles incompatible with the freedom and safety of the State, shall be capable of holding any office or place of trust or profit, in the civil department within this State." As all these declarations emanated from the same authority, and at the same moment, it was proper, if possible, to give to them a construction which would render them consistent with each other. The enquiry was, whether so expounded, the Constitution did prohibit Catholics from holding a civil office. This enquiry I had recently had an occasion to prosecute, at the request of a Catholic friend who received a public employment, with much care and with an earnest desire to come to a correct conclusion. The result to which I then arrived, was now re-examined, and on re-examination, fully approved.

Not long after the great schism which arose in the Christian Church in the 16th century, the term Protestant was used to designate all those denominations of Christians, which, however divided among themselves, then separated from the main body; while *these* claimed to be called Catholics, or members of the Universal Church, and because of their remaining in union with the Bishop of Rome as their Chief Pastor and visible head, were also called Roman Catholics. The clause disqualifying those who

should "deny the truth of the Protestant Religion," might have been intended to incapacitate Roman Catholics, and the supposition was rendered the more likely by the consideration that North Carolina had been settled almost exclusively by Protestants, at a time when bitter religious disputes and prejudices prevailed, and that these prejudices had not lost their force when the Constitution was framed. But the clause in question was part of the written fundamental law of the land, and ought to be expounded according to the well established rules of legal interpretation—According to these, unless it contained a clear disqualification, it must be considered as leaving unimpaired the right of the citizen to hold, and of the country to confer office. The People of the State have a right to the service of every citizen whom they think worthy and capable of serving them, and there can be no restriction on *their* choice, except such as they have *unequivocally* imposed on themselves. Every citizen having an *unalienable* right, that is, a right which he cannot part with, nor Society take from him, to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of his own conscience, any penalty or degradation imposed on him, because of the exercise of this right, unless plainly denounced by the Constitution, must be regarded as a grievous wrong.

Every part of this short clause, 'who shall deny the truth of the Protestant religion,' is to be well considered. It is obvious that the term 'deny,' does not include those who merely doubt, nor even those who disbelieve, unless that disbelief be accompanied by some overt act of *negation* of its truth. To *deny*, is the reverse of *affirm*, not of *believe*. Many considerations of propriety and of decency may induce an individual to forbear from denying that of which he has not seen sufficient evidence, or to which he cannot yield his assent, or that which, on the whole, he disbelieves. What kind of overt act does the Constitution contemplate as the denial which is to bring down this incapacity? Is the profession of a faith and the worship of God, as held and practised by other than Protestant Churches, such a denial? If the clause justified a liberal and enlarged interpretation, this might well be deemed sufficient. But we have seen, that the prohibition is to be construed strictly. The Bill of Rights has asserted, in the strongest terms, the right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and the 34th section expressly

prohibits a preference to any one religious church or denomination. It is hardly possible to reconcile the first with a constitutional penalty for *the simple* exercise of that right, or the other with a monopoly of civil offices to the professors of the tenets of particular sects. Besides, society generally, legislates not upon opinions, but on acts. Where this clause means to make opinions a clause of disqualification, it expressly says so: "or who shall *hold* religious principles incompatible with the freedom of safety of the State." In the penal laws of England, against heresy, the "denial" (See 9 & 10 *Wm.* 8, *ch.* 82) is to be evinced by writing, printing, teaching or advised speaking. Upon the whole, it may fairly be inferred that the word *deny*, as here used, cannot be satisfied by anything short of this offensive denial. The Constitution does not prescribe the faith which entitles to or excludes from civil office, but demands from all those who hold civil office, that decent respect for the prevalent religion of the country which forbids them to impugn it, to declare it false, to arraign it as an imposition upon the credulity of the people.

In the next place, who shall judicially say what is "the Protestant religion"? If the Constitution defined the Protestant religion, or if the Protestant religion were made the religion of the country, and there were organized some ecclesiastical court, or other proper tribunal, to determine its tenets and to decide on heresy, there would then be the means of legally determining what is that religion. But the Constitution does not define it, nor has it been made the Religion of the State. Such a tribunal has not been established, nor, under the 34th article of the Constitution, can it be erected. Innumerable sects, differing each from the other in the interpretation of what all deem the revealed will of God—some holding for divine truth what others reject as pernicious error—are indiscriminately called and know as Protestants. But, again, what is to be understood by denying its *truth*? Protestants have separated from the Catholics, because as they allege, the latter have added to the Christian code, doctrines not revealed. Protestants, therefore, reject as error, or at all events as of human invention, more or less of what Catholics receive as divine truth. But there is no affirmative doctrine embraced by Protestants generally, which is not religiously professed also by Catholics. The latter hold that the former err, not

in what they believe, but in what they disbelieve. The acknowledged symbol of faith in the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country, is the Apostles' creed. This very creed is the ordinary profession of faith in the Catholic Church, and as such, is always repeated at Baptism. Do Roman Catholics, then, come within the description of persons denying *the truth* of the Protestant religion? But besides all this; before the Revolution, Roman Catholics labored in the mother country and in the colonies under greivous political and civil disabilities; and were, moreover, kept out of office by precise oaths, required to be administered to public officers, which they could not take. These disabilities were attached to them by plain and positive words. They were called by the legal nick-names of Papists and Popish Recusants. At the Revolution, the principle of Religious Freedom was proclaimed as the basis of the new Constitution. If the odious proscriptions against this class of Christians were deliberately intended to be retained or renewed, it was natural to expect that the test oaths would also be retained, or that this intention would be expressed in unambiguous language. Before they shall be regarded as the victims of religious intolerance, and degraded from political rank, a distinct expression of constitutional law ought to be required.

Considerations like these, sir, brought me to the conclusion that whatever reason there was to suspect that this clause might have been intended by some of the Congress who framed the Constitution, to impose political disabilities on Catholics, the clause could not be judicially interpreted as excluding Catholics, as such, from office. The language used indicated such a conflict between prejudice and principle, as rendered it impracticable to adjudge a clear victory to either. A penal provision against a portion of the freemen of the State; disabling provision against the whole community, in its selection of civil officers; penal and disabling provisions because of religious opinions, which it was an unalienable right to possess and to follow out in practice, could not, I thought, be upheld and enforced, unless clearly and definitively declared. The question was purely one of legal exposition. It involved the construction of a written provision in the constitutional law of the country. If a construction had been settled by judicial tribunals, *that* must be deemed the correct one. If none had been so settled, then the construction which judicial

tribunals must attach to it according to the fixed principles of legal interpretation, must be taken by all to be the true construction. Private conscience was concerned so far as not to violate the law. But what the law was, conscience could not determine, nor even private reason decide, against either an official interpretation actually made, or such as must result from the rules universally observed by judicial tribunals. I may without impropriety add, that on a question where I was, above all, solicitous to have a clean conscience, I was not governed by my own views only, but sought the ablest assistance that I could obtain, and that I was confirmed in these conclusions by the highest legal authorities, both *within* and *without* the State.

Had the office been sought as a mere matter of personal ambition, I might have deemed it safer to forego the gratification, rather than to risque a *possibility* of infringing either the letter or spirit of the Constitution. But, under such circumstances, to decline an office which my conscience told me I was bound to take, unless disabled by the Constitution, appeared to me an abandonment of duty. I had no well-founded scruples myself. To be deterred by the apprehension of what others might think of my conduct, seemed to me, rank cowardice. Besides, if from any mistaken motives of delicacy, I could have consented to impose an interdict on myself, ought I by such conduct to have practically aided in interpolating into the Constitution a prohibition, which I did not believe it to contain?—a provision insulting to the feelings and injurious to the rights of a portion of my fellow-citizens—hostile to the principles of Religious freedom, and abhorrent from all these sentiments of liberal toleration, which, at this day, belong to enlightened Christians of every denomination. My course appeared to me a plain one, and therefore I did not hesitate to pursue it. I shall be gratified if my country approve of what I have done—but whether it does or not, I have the consolation, that on mature reconsideration, my conscience does not reprove me for taking the office which that country, with a full knowledge of all the circumstances, thought proper to offer to me.

One more remark on what may be regarded as the *personal* part of this discussion, and I shall then cheerfully abandon it altogether. As a citizen of North Carolina, having a deep con-

cern in her institutions and in her honor. I yield to no one in the interest which I feel, that this question should be properly decided. But, as an *individual*, I beg it be understood, that I am utterly indifferent as to the determination of the Convention and of the People, except to desire that the Constitutional provision may be rendered perfectly explicit. If it be thought essential to the good of the State that a monopoly of offices shall be secured to certain favored religious sects, let it be so declared. He who now addresses you, will not feel a moment's pain, should such a decision render it his duty to return to private life. Office sought him—he sought not office. An experience of its cares, its labors and its responsibilities, has not tended to increase his attachment to it. Let him but know what is the Constitution of his country, and be it in his judgment wise or unwise, equal or unequal, he will to the best of his understanding and ability, in his own case and in all cases, uphold and defend it. So he has often sworn, and as he acknowledges no power which can absolve, so he holds that no inducement of ambition or interest can excuse him, from the exact and faithful fulfilment of this oath. His only perplexity will be to know what course he ought to pursue, if the Convention should forbear to act on the subject. Had he made up his own mind on this point—he would not, *at this moment*, reveal the determination to his nearest and dearest friend on earth. But, in truth, he had endeavored, as far as possible, to hide even from himself, the result to which his reflections would seem to conduct him in that event.

Mr. Chairman, in the Act which authorizes this Convention to be called, and which has been ratified by the people, the Convention is instructed to enquire into the expediency of amending, and is empowered, *at its discretion*, to amend the 32d section of the Constitution. The first consideration which presents itself is, does the Article require amendment? On this point, I had supposed, until very lately, that a difference of opinion *could not exist*. Far be it from me wantonly to wound the feeling of any gentleman, or arrogantly to set up my notions of right as the standard by which others ought to be governed; but where my convictions are thorough and without doubt, I must be permitted so to state them. Where the path of duty seems to me as plain as day, I must be allowed to call on my associates, not to desert

it. Sir, so indispensable, in my judgment, is the obligation of framing *some amendment* to this section, that I should hold the Convention guilty of an unpardonable dereliction of duty, were it to adjourn and leave the section untouched. In the course of this discussion, which has now lasted three days, the ablest members of this body have stated their views as to the meaning and operation of the article—and yet, scarcely two of them have concurred in the same exposition. One informs us that it excludes *nobody*—that it cannot be interpreted to exclude *any body*—that, for want of a tribunal to enforce and expound it, the entire provision is a *dead letter*, as if it had never been embodied in the instrument. Another thinks, that it clearly excludes Atheists and such Deists as make a parade of their infidelity, by proclaiming the Holy Scriptures to be false. A third believes that is disqualifies Atheists, Deists and *Jews*—for that the latter necessarily deny the divine authority of the New Testament, and Deists deny the divine authority of both of the New and Old Testament. A fourth supposes that these are excluded; and that it was intended also to exclude Catholics, but that the language is not sufficiently explicit to warrant a judicial exposition to that effect. A fifth holds that it was not only intended to exclude, but, by legal construction, does exclude them. A sixth is satisfied that Quakers, Memnonists and Dunkards are disqualified, because their doctrine, that arms cannot lawfully be used in the defence of the country, is subversive of its very freedom and repugnant to its safety. Some think it will be a matter of fact for a jury to determine—other, a matter of law, for a court, to pronounce what religious principles are incompatible with the freedom and safety of the State—while not a few are inclined to hold that the Legislature may, in this respect, define what the Constitution has left vague and uncertain. It is also perfectly known to us, that the first men of the legal profession, out of this Hall—the first for knowledge and purity of character—differ also in their exposition of the Article. This Convention is assembled to revise and amend the Constitution, and the people call our attention to this section, and submit to us the propriety of so amending it, that hereafter its meaning may be understood. What excuse, what apology, what pretence can be assigned, for giving the go-by to this manifest duty? Law is a rule of action prescribed by the sovereign

power, and commanding the respectful obedience of all within its sphere. The very nature of such a rule implies that it should be communicated and of course rendered intelligible to those who are to be bound by it. That master must be the worst of tyrants, who purposely declares his commands so as not to be understood by those subject to his will. Perhaps nothing has more effectually consigned the name of Caligula to undying infamy, than the fact recorded of him by Dio Cassius, that he wrote his edicts in a very small character and hung them up on high pillars, purposely to ensnare the people. But, still, by the use of extraordinary means, these could be read, and when read, it is presumed they might be understood. But no diligence, no exertions, can enable the people to understand what is not designed to be understood, and is therefore couched in words without defined meaning. A command so given, is an unknown tongue, and the *Lexicon*, by which it is to be translated, is withheld. If, however, perspicuity be required in all laws, so that no law-maker can intentionally fail in it without guilt, how emphatically is it not demanded in a *Constitution*—the fundamental law—the charter of all delegated powers—the palladium of all reserved rights?—Here, if possible, everything should be made clear to the man of the plainest capacity, that he may know how much of his natural freedom he has parted with, what are his duties, what are his privileges, and how he may distinguish between commands which it is treason to resist, and oppression which he would be a miscreant to endure. Every individual within the State is bound, at the cost of the last cent of his treasure and the last drop of his blood, to uphold and sustain that Constitution—and will you purposely leave it unintelligible? Every officer, from the highest to the lowest, is required to take an oath that he will support, maintain and defend that Constitution; and will you intentionally and advisedly leave a clause in it, having no distinct meaning—where you refuse to declare your meaning, and where you know that your meaning is not understood, in order to alarm timid, or to ensnare unenlightened consciences?

Here we have been met by an obstacle to all enquiry, and of course to all action, interposed by the gentleman from Orange, (Mr. Smith). He informs us, that from some occurrences which preceded the election in his county, which he does not particu-

larly explain, and because the choice of the people of that county fell upon himself and his colleague, he considers the people of Orange as having instructed their delegates not to take up this subject. Sir, I must be permitted to deny that any such instructions have been given, and to call for the document which authoritatively certifies them. I will not confound clamour, however got up—temporary excitement—popular feeling, more or less extensive—with deliberate *instructions*. I take issue with the gentleman on the fact of instructions, and demand the proof—I do so the more readily, because the people of Orange are *estopped* from giving such instructions—*cannot* give them, without a disregard of the most solemn assurances, and without bringing down on themselves a dishonor which they never, never will incur.

With many a politician, the whole doctrine of instructions is but a pretext for shunning responsibility, and shifting with every turn of popular caprice. Supposed instructions furnish a justification, or at least an excuse, for every act. If he has erred, it was because he *thought* he was instructed. He now finds that he is instructed otherwise—and he will certainly reverse what he has done amiss. “Change as ye list, ye winds,” he sails before the breeze. But, there are men of unquestioned integrity and independence who differ in opinion as to the just force of instructions *under the Constitution*. That the people have a right to assemble together to instruct their representatives, is solemnly declared by that instrument; and this declaration would not have been inserted, if it were not considered that the instruction, when given, was entitled to respect. All agree in this: but they differ in defining the limits within which such instruction is practically obligatory. They concur in declaring that it cannot be obeyed where it directs any action forbidden by the Constitution, or by the law of God; because no power on earth can absolve a man from his sworn obligation to defend that Constitution, or from his duty to obey his great Creator. They do not practically differ where the instruction relates to a matter of local convenience, in which the opinion of the majority of those concerned is of course the best criterion for deciding it. The debateable ground is, with respect to those matters of where the *public welfare* is concerned. The representatives will here, of course, be happy to think with his constituents—will yield to their deliberate opinion very great

deference—and unless he has a clear conviction to the contrary, may, without a sacrifice of conscience, believe their judgment a safe guide for his conduct. But, if he has this clear conviction to the contrary, some think he ought to obey the instruction, because he is but an agent—and *their* will, not *his*, ought to govern. Unquestionably, this is not my opinion. I hold that he is more than an agent—that he is *also* a member of a body to which *the Constitution* has intrusted him with the power of *making laws*—that the decision is not a mere matter of *will*, but of consultation with his fellows, of deliberation and judgment—and that within the sphere of delegated power, *every* functionary is bound to do what he verily believes the public good demands, and to abstain from all which, his best judgment tells him, will be injurious to the State. I am perfectly satisfied that this is the true Republican doctrine, the only doctrine which secures to the constituent the best exercise of all the faculties of his representative, and holds that representative to a full accountability for neglect to inform himself, for haste, or carelessness in decision, for error of judgment, as well as for wickedness of purpose. But be the force of instructions under our Constitution, from the constituents to their representative, what they may, I do most decidedly and solemnly protest against *any* right of the people of one county in this State, to instruct any member of this Convention how he shall perform his delegated functions.

Sir, from whom does he receive these functions—what are they—and to whom is he accountable for their exercise? The voice of the majority of the people of North Carolina, voting *en masse*, called this Convention into being, and gave to this body and to every member in it, the functions which they are to exercise. “The following propositions,” says the Organic Act, “shall be submitted to the people for their assent or dissent, the former of which shall be understood by the vote ‘For Convention,’ and the latter by their vote of ‘No Convention.’” True, after the people shall have given this assent, the delegates to frame the proposed amendments are, by the Act, to be appointed by the people in the several counties. This affords to the citizens of every county an opportunity of selecting those whose feelings and general modes of thinking are most congenial with their own; and secures to the Convention the advantages of a knowledge of

the wishes, and a sympathy with the wants of every section of the State. But the delegates once appointed, they come as agents under the letter of attorney of the whole people, and with instructions from the whole people. Before they are permitted to form in Convention, these delegates are obliged to swear that they will not transcend the powers, nor disregard the duties, thus required of them by the whole people. *This Act* limits their powers, and *this Act* contains their instructions. They *shall* frame certain amendments therein pointed out, and in *their discretion*, they may propose certain other amendments submitted to *their consideration*. Within these limits, they become a consulting College—their acts have of themselves no force—their doings are to be submitted to the whole people, voting again *en masse*, and if approved by the majority of that people, then, by the authority of the whole people, they become a part of the Constitution of the State. If any portion of the people, less than a majority of the whole, dare to give instructions, either restraining the power or controlling the discretion of the delegates on the proper subjects of their deliberations, it is a flagrant usurpation. If some counties can thus tie up the understanding, conscience and will of their delegates, it is a fraud on the other counties who have their's unfettered. There can be no arrangement—no final action—unless these, the uninstructed delegates, the delegates with *full* powers, give in to the views prescribed at home to the instructed and partially empowered delegates. An interchange of opinions, consultation, discussion, are useless, when whatever may be the conviction which these may produce, the convinced are bound to act against conviction. When gentlemen talk of instructions from their constituents, other than the great and commanding instructions from the collective body of the people who gave this Convention being, and for whose weal or woe we are consulting, under the most sacred and awful obligations, it is but a proof, that they do not elevate their minds above the ordinary range of every day legislation. Ours are not local, nor temporary provisions, called for by the emergencies of the day or the convenience of particular sections of the State, but universal Constitutional Ordinances, which, once adopted, are incapable of change, save by recourse to the fountain of original sovereignty. "*Sursum Corda*," (elevate your hearts), is the address of our country to us

before entering on this solemn office. Raise your affections, raise your views, high above the interests, the excitements, the passions, the prejudices of the passing moment and the narrow circle around you. Consult for your whole country; consult for your country through all time; and swear before God that you will do this faithfully.

But, it has also been stated by the gentleman from Orange, as a reason for declining to act on this subject, that the people in his section of the country were surprised at discovering a proposition to amend the 32d section, in the Convention Act; that they have not had time to think of it; are at a loss to conceive how it ever came to be suggested, and are apprehensive that there may be some insidious design connected with this amendment which they cannot see. Sir, that this representation may apply to a portion of the gentleman's neighbors, is probable enough. There are some few in every community who scarcely know ought of what is passing beyond the narrow round of their daily occupations, and to whom public intelligence of every kind, however generally known to others, comes with the impression of novelty. But surely, surely, this representation cannot apply to any large portion of the people of Orange, or of the neighboring counties—nor to any who can be supposed by themselves, or believed by others, to be capable of imparting instruction to the delegates in this body.

The amending of a Constitution is not an every day business, nor the subject of every day conversation. This is the first opportunity in sixty years which has been presented for reforming ours; but since I have known any thing of public life, it has seldom been my lot to meet with an intelligent individual at any time, or on any occasion, when the question of such a reform was talked of, who did not take it for granted, that this offensive and disgusting Article was to be either obliterated or modified.—Suffer me to advert to a few of the most prominent and efficient public movements in relation to a Convention, and to show how uniformly an amendment of the Constitution in this respect was connected with these movements. In 1826, there was a meeting of a number of respectable gentlemen in this city, held under all the imposing forms of a "Western Convention." I occasionally witnessed its deliberations, and was present when a motion was

made to expunge the 32d section, as hostile to the principles of Religious freedom, and unworthy of the liberality of the age.— A general concurrence in these sentiments was expressed, but the motion was withdrawn at the suggestion of the President of that body, (Mr. Yancy), that it was foreign from the objects of the Convention, as a *Western* Convention. The motion, I well remember, was made by a gentleman of the same name with, and probably a relative of, one of the delegates from Richmond in this Convention.

[Mr. Harrington here rose, and stated that he was the very individual who made the proposition].

Mr. Gaston continued: I was not aware of that fact, sir. I had not then the honor of the gentleman's acquaintance, and never having seen him since until we met in this body, I did not recognize him as the person to whose just and liberal remarks I then listened with so much pleasure. He will pardon me, I trust, for now taking the liberty of tendering to him my congratulations on the honor, and a high honor it is, of having been the first *publicly* to invite the attention of the citizens of this State to this blot in their Constitutional law.

In the session of 1832, the advocates for Convention, in the Legislature, succeeded in having a joint committee of both houses appointed to report on the amendments which it was believed were needed in the Constitution. On examination of the Journals of the Senate, for that year, it will be seen that a Resolution was introduced by Mr. Hinton, the Senator for Beaufort, then a member, and some time before, a regular Minister of the Methodist Church, instructing the committee to enquire into the expediency of expunging the 32d Article. This Resolution passed without opposition. The committee reported a bill, in which the contemplated amendments, *eight* only in number, were specified, and among them was this: "Article 7th. So much of the 32d section of the Constitution, as provides that no person who shall deny the truth of the Protestant religion shall be capable of holding any office or place of trust or profit in the Civil Department within this State, is *hereby made void and of no effect.*" This bill was afterwards, on its second reading, upon motion of the chairman of the committee (Mr. Pearson) laid upon the table. The advocates of Convention, including the four members from

Orange, one of whom is now a delegate from that county in this body, assembled on the 4th January, 1833, in this City, and resolved to publish an ADDRESS to the PEOPLE of the State on the subject of the amendments proposed in that bill: recommended to the people to vote upon them at the election in the ensuing August, and to the Sheriffs to make a return to the Governor of the number of votes so given in; and appointed a committee of three persons in every county of the State to circulate the Address among the people. The county of Orange was specially attended to on this occasion. The committee for that county consisted of four persons, and *two* of these happen to be the very two delegates who now represent that county in this Convention. The Address was drafted accordingly, and thousands of copies were distributed, through county committees. This Address is before me, and I ask attention to some extracts from it. The Address declares, "that a large portion, and as the addressers believe, a majority of the people of the State, are dissatisfied with the Constitution of the State"—that the addressers "are confident that a declaration of opinion by the people, for or against a change of the Constitution, will be received as instructions" by the next General Assembly; and that "in order to remove the objections of some, to defeat the pretences of many, and operate as a recommendation to all, the advocates for Convention have *put forth 'for discussion the changes which are demanded.'*" Again, "a remedy for *these evils* is neither difficult nor dangerous. By your votes at the elections in August, pronounce your determination upon the question, whether a change is needed in the Constitution. That expression of your will being sent to your representatives, they will be bound to provide a remedy, or pass a law, by which you shall be enabled to effect it yourselves." To the copies of this Address are annexed the amendments contained in the bill before mentioned, and among others the 7th Article is recited at full length. Nor is this all. The addressers *particularly* call the attention of the people to this alteration. I quote their language: "In the 32d Article of our Constitution, there is an odious restriction upon conscience, by excluding all persons who *deny the Protestant faith*. We are Protestants, and therefore we can have no personal interest in the abrogation of this restriction. But will it be expected of us, at this day, to offer

arguments in favor of *Religious toleration*? We hope and believe not. It is a *disgrace* to any free people to tyrannize over the conscience of others. It is GROSS OPPRESSION and an undeserved imputation against the patriotism and public virtues of the Catholics of North-Carolina, to preserve any longer this *badge of our fathers' prejudices*. The Article itself is IN CONFLICT with our Bill of Rights, when it declares, that "all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own conscience." Again, sir, the Address proceeds: "When Ireland had won a partial restoration of her rights by the removal of an odious restriction upon her Catholic people, we witnessed a flow of generous congratulation from the hearts of North-Carolinians, and will they turn from us with indifference, when we remind them that the same *hated tyranny* over the consciences of Catholics is sanctioned by the very charter of their liberty"? This is certainly strong and plain language, and what was the answer made by those to whom it was addressed? From the tabular statement submitted to us by our committee, it appears that 29,505 of the freemen, thus called on by his Address to *instruct* the General Assembly in relation to the proposed amendments, voted "Aye"—a number exceeding, by 1,955, that of the whole number of freemen who called the present Convention. What was then the declared sentiment of Orange? Sir, 1700 of her freemen voted Aye and not one No! Here was a specific declaration, given avowedly as instructions. In consequence, at the sessions of 1833, the General Assembly undertook to prepare a *substitute* for the existing Constitution, framed in pursuance of these instructions, and to be submitted to the people for their ratification. In the report accompanying the bill, the committee say, "they recommend that the 32d Article of the Constitution should be abolished, *at least in part*, if not *altogether*. Its spirit is in conflict with Religious freedom; it has no practical use; and it may be considered a mere badge of ancient prejudice, which, however excusable in those who first engrafted it upon our Constitution, is unworthy the present age of enlightened liberality." This substitute wholly omitted the provisions of the 32d section; expunged it, in fact, altogether from the new Constitution of the country. On examining the Journals of the Senate, it will be found that a motion was made to *insert* it in the

substitute, and this motion rejected, by Yeas and Nays—Ayes 23, Noes 38.—A modification of it was then proposed, *omitting* all those parts which related to the denial of the “divine authority of the New or Old Testament and of the truth of the Protestant Religion,” and this was *accepted*, by Yeas and Nays, 50 voting in the affirmative and 9 in the negative. The substitute, *thus modified*, was supported by the entire vote of the Western counties, including the county of Orange, but was defeated by a majority of three votes. After this, a bill was introduced in the Senate for ascertaining the sense of the people of North-Carolina, relative to a Convention for amending the Constitution which bill recites that it has been represented to the General Assembly, that it is the desire of the people to reform the Constitution in certain specified particulars, and among others, “*to amend the 32d section*” thereof, and that the General Assembly feels itself bound to provide for carrying this will into effect—authorises a vote to be taken at the polls, whether a Convention shall be called to consider and amend the Constitution as proposed. This bill was supported by the delegation from Orange and of the entire West, and passed the Senate, but was lost in the House of Commons. Thereupon, another meeting was had in this city of all the friends of Reform, including the four members from Orange, at which certain resolutions were moved by you, sir, and unanimously adopted, by which *this* rejected bill was to be laid *before the people*, accompanied by an Address to be prepared by a committee of five, explaining and enforcing the objects of the bill.—This was done, and I have now before me the Address thus prepared by the committee of five, (one of them a distinguished gentleman of the County of Orange), and subscribed by them as the organs of that meeting. The Bill is annexed to that Address. An appeal is thus formally taken from the Legislature to the People, and those who make the appeal, set forth the changes which they demand, and the reasons by which they are supported. This appeal brings forward again and distinctly, the 32d Article. It declares that “it has no *practical effect*, because there is no tribunal by which to determine any man’s faith.” It denounces it, “as an odious badge of prejudice which the enlightened liberality of the present day should *scorn to wear*”; inveighs against it “as an unjust imputation against the Catholics of this State,”

and "brands with falsehood the idle fears that are implied by this paper restriction." It concludes on this subject with the following sentence: "How far it is consistent with the spirit of "Protestantism itself—how far it is compatible with the Bill of "Rights, which declares, that all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience," we leave to that bigotry which would perpetuate "*this stigma*." Well sir, the reformers finally succeed in obtaining a Convention to consider the proposed amendments—and among others proposed by them, is that for amending the 32d Section. Now sir, after all these public, solemn and reiterated declarations on the part of the people of Orange and the adjoining counties, of the amendments which *they* propose, desire, nay *demand* from their brethren of the State, with what plausibility it can be pretended that one of these very amendments is a *new* thing to them—on which *they* have had no time to reflect—it may be safely left to any man of common sense to decide. If they could rightfully instruct the delegates in this Convention as to any part of the duties enjoined by the whole people, it may be left to any man of common honesty to pronounce whether they are not *estopped* by decency, by a respect for plighted faith, by a regard for their own honor, from giving any instruction to retain in the Constitution, what *they* have again and again declared to be an "odious restriction upon conscience, a gross oppression—hated tyranny—a violation of the Bill of Rights, a badge of ancient prejudice, and a disgrace to the present age." To *turn round* after succeeding in obtaining a Convention, and then not only to recall these denunciations, but to become the advocates of Religious intolerance, would be to draw down upon themselves a reproach, which, I earnestly pray, no portion of my fellow-citizens may ever be doomed to suffer. No, sir. I deny that the people of the gentleman's county, or of his sections of the country, could rightfully give such instructions; and I deny most emphatically that they ever did give such instructions. I have authentic and express evidence of their instructions, infinitely stronger than what the gentleman would *imply* from the election of himself and his colleague.

But it has been asked, why interfere with an Article which has produced no practical inconvenience; which has been in ex-

istence sixty years, and has never excluded one worthy man from office; which has been either dead, or at all events asleep, from the first moment of its existence? All unnecessary restraint on freedom of thought or action, is tyranny, and all unmeaning and inoperative restraint, folly. Such restraint can never be otherwise than practically injurious. The Constitution of a free people should be recommended to their reverence and affection by its conformity to the principles of equal justice, and its correspondence with the dictates of wisdom. It may be that this ambiguous Article has not actually kept out of the public service any individual who might have otherwise entered into it—but it does not thence follow that no practical evil has arisen from it. If it has impaired the attachment of any citizen to the institutions of his country, by causing him to feel that a stigma was cast, or attempted to be cast, upon him, in its fundamental law; if it has swelled the arrogance or embittered the malice of sectarian bigotry by bidding it hold up its head on high above the suspected castes of the community; if it has checked the fair expression of honest opinion, or operated as a bribe to hypocrisy and dissimulation; if it has drawn down upon the Constitution of North Carolina, the double reproach of manifesting at once the *will* to persecute, and the *inability* to execute, its purpose—then, vast indeed, has already been its practical mischief. But had it produced none—this would be a very insufficient apology for retaining it. Dead is it? Then is it fit for cleanly riddance—Then let us inter the carcase, lest its pestilential effluvia should poison the atmosphere of Freedom. Asleep is it? and therefore harmless? Let us take care, while we may, that it shall not awaken to pernicious activity. Now is the time for those who would perpetuate the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity, to expel from the Constitution the seminal principles of future oppression. Such is the infirmity and wickedness and violence of man, that a wicked principle, either in morals or in politics, never fails, at some time or other, to bring forth fruit abundantly. Let the spirit of proscription, now dormant in this Article, be raised from its torpor by religious, or rather irreligious heats, and who can say that his children will be secured against intolerances? The gentleman from Orange pledges himself indeed for posterity, and another gentleman expresses a willingness to repeat or en-

dorse this pledge, that no dominant sect shall abuse the power of persecution. I fear that the right of either of these gentlemen to fasten a valid engagement on future generations, may be hereafter questioned. I fear that posterity may protest their draft, because of a want of precedent authority to make it, and also of a want of funds of the drawer and indorser to answer it. After experience of the manner in which the delegates from Orange are disposed to execute pledges given in behalf of their people, pledges of a far more authentic and obligatory character, we must be excused if we be not over hasty in relying on this unauthorized guaranty.

Mr. Chairman, I have perhaps occupied too much of the time of the Committee in considering the reasons or excuses for forbearing to act upon this subject. If, in this respect, I have erred, it is from a belief that our chief difficulty lies in determining to act at all, and not in ascertaining what we ought to do, if action be resolved on. In the strongest terms I have asserted our obligation to examine and to reform this part of the Constitution, because no terms can be stronger than my conviction of the duty. The Committee will decide whether this conviction is not justified by the arguments laid before them, and if it be, will then accompany me in the enquiry. What is the reform which the interests of the State require at our hands?

If there be difficulties in ascertaining what the Article in question *effectually* enacts, we are at least able, with some degree of confidence, to pronounce what it does not enact. It in no degree abridges the *elective* franchise. Every citizen, however heretical his religious opinions, has a right to vote in the *choice* of those who make the laws, or who administer to the service of the State. It *unquestionably* has no application to military offices. However dangerous may be supposed the religious principles of an individual, he is constitutionally qualified to command the military strength of the State. It is clear, too, and I suppose will be admitted by every legal gentleman, that the prohibitions in this Article can exclude no one from *seats in the General Assembly*. Whenever the Constitution means to exclude any man from a seat in the Legislature, it says so in express terms. Thus in the 25th section, it declares that no Receiver of Public Monies, etc., "shall have a seat in either House of the General Assembly, or be eligi-

ble to any office in this State." A seat in the Legislature is above offices or places of trust in the Civil Department, and is not comprehended impliedly within these terms. If there had been any good reason to doubt this construction, such a doubt would have been removed by the adjudication of the Senate of the United States upon the impeachment of William Blount, and the decision of our House of Commons, in the year 1808, in the case of Mr. Jacob Henry, a Jew, and a representative in that body from the county of Carteret. The persons, therefore, whom this Article proscribes are not only qualified to choose the law-makers and to hold military appointments, but *may* themselves become the law-makers of the land. Let us pause a moment, and consider the *wisdom* of the provision. The only ground upon which a constitutional disqualification of a portion of the citizens for any public trust, can possibly be vindicated, is the public safety. The people, the legitimate fountain of power, should not be forbidden from confiding the management of their concerns to any whom they may prefer, unless it be to those who *cannot* have the ability and integrity to serve them faithfully. Now, if the profession of certain irreligious notions, or certain heretical religious opinions, renders a man *necessarily* unfit for the public service, he is peculiarly and emphatically an unfit depository of the political power and controller of the physical strength of the State. Yet this Article permits unbelievers and misbelievers to elect those who shall enact laws—and permits them, if the people so please to enact laws themselves for the government of the whole State, and permits them to command the militia, by whom the laws are to be enforced. If it be safe to allow them to wield these powers, on what pretence can it be alleged, that it is utterly unsafe to permit their fellow-citizens to appoint one of them to a subordinate civil employment, whatever knowledge they may have of his fitness for its duties, and whatever confidence a long and intimate acquaintance may warrant them in reposing in his tried virtue? He may elect rulers, or may himself be a ruler. There is no danger in his being a member of the Senate or House of Commons—there is no danger in having a command over the armed force of the State—but, the country's safety forbids, however exemplary his conduct or excellent his character, that he should be a Judge, or a Sheriff, or a Clerk of a Court, or a Constable?

Wonderful sagacity! Admirable prudence! A congeniality of sentiment sometimes betrays men into a misplaced confidence; but it seldom happens that an individual, whose opinions on any subject of deep concern, are quite different from those of his neighbors, commands their respect and affection, unless his life be such as to keep down and overrule the prejudice so naturally arising from his dissimilarity. Bad men, belonging to obnoxious sects, stand no chance of obtaining appointments; and, therefore, our Constitution takes care that good ones *shall not* be elected. Profound wisdom! This provision has been called a badge of ancient prejudice, and no doubt it is in part the result of prejudice. But it does not spring from prejudice only—from a mere dull, sullen, unreasoning antipathy. It manifests, also, the agency of another temperament or passion of a more calculating character—a passion not unfrequently seen on occasions where one would least expect it; which may be discerned through disguises most carefully put on to hide it from observation. When the renowned John Gilpin was about to enter on his gallant expedition to Edmondton, he was delighted to perceive that his money-loving spouse, in all preparations for the celebration of the happy day, still exhibited her characteristic disposition to take care of the main chance—

"That though on *pleasure* she was bent
She had a *frugal* mind."

While this restraint on the freedom of choice professes an affectionate solicitude, lest the good people or their agents may ruin the country by employing as public servants, men whose faith is unsound, that solicitude is satisfied by an exclusion from offices or places of *profit*. It apprehends no danger, provided the *emoluments* of office can be kept sacred. Although bent on the preservation of religion, it has a selfish mind—it is of the same spirit which prompted multitudes to follow after the Redeemer of mankind, under the pretence of witnessing his marvellous deeds and listening to his holy doctrines, but, in truth, because he had multiplied the loaves and fishes in the wilderness. It is of the same spirit which would find a belief in the Bible or in the Koran, the rite of Baptism or Circumcision, a reasonable and useful constitutional requirement, if it but insured a monopoly of the public service money. It is the same spirit which actuates

the sutlers and followers of a camp, the retainers and slaves of successful power, who discover in the hopes of victory and inducement for fidelity, and in its plunder, a reward for baseness. It is the spirit of cupidity, cloaked but not concealed beneath the mantle of religious zeal, offering bribes for conformity—courting prejudice and bigotry on the one side, and wooing dissimulation and human infirmity on the other—it is a spirit which should find no abiding place in the Constitution of a free People.

Prejudice and cupidity are formidable foes, and will no doubt oppose an obstinate resistance to every effort which may be made to dislodge them from their hold. But we should be false to this people, if we distrusted their ability to decide correctly on this question. Lay it *fairly* before them, and no man need doubt the issue. The question is, ought there to be any Religious test in the Constitution? Shall any man be debarred from office, merely because of his *opinions* on matters of Religion? To me it seems if there can be any certainty in moral or political science, the answer must be in the negative. It is an invasion of the right of the people to select those whom they deem worthy of confidence, and a violation of the right of the citizen to acquire the confidence of his fellow men, and to enjoy the rewards which they wish to bestow on his intelligence, industry, patriotism and virtue. In those governments which undertake to prescribe a religious faith to their subjects, and command its profession as a part of civil duty, there is at least a congruity in visiting disobedience by appropriate penalties. Incapacitation for office is *there* a punishment for disloyalty—and if it be supposed not adequate to its end, it is followed up by imprisonment, fine, confiscation, exile, torture and death. The *principle* is the same in all these grades of punishment. It is a visitation of the vengeance of the State upon those who offend against its institutions. But where a State is avowedly based on Religious Freedom, where it proclaims that every man has from nature a right, which he cannot surrender, and which none may take away—a “natural and unalienable right” to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of *his own conscience*—a right, of the correct exercise of which, his conscience is the sole judge—how can that State, without a violation of first principles, punish him by degradation because of the exercise of that very right? To this question, an

answer is attempted to be given; and if the indefensible character of the cause did not forbid all wonder at any sophism that might be pressed into its defence, I should find it difficult either to restrain, or fitly to express my surprise at the nature of the pretended answer. It is very gravely said, that no man has any natural right to office, and therefore, the refusal of an office to him cannot be a punishment. Sir, how could it have escaped the intelligent mind of the gentleman from Chatham, (Mr. M'Queen) who has given undeserved honor to this notion by his approbation of it, that although no man has a natural right to an office, *all* have an equal right to *deserve* and to *acquire* whatever may be had without injury to others? How could he fail discern, that although the bestowal of an office by the community on one of several competitors for distinction, ought not to be felt as a wrong by those who have been disappointed, because their claims have been fairly presented to and fairly passed upon by that community; yet an *interdict* to become a candidate and to present his claims for distinction, would be felt by every man of sensibility as an act of arbitrary power? What is punishment, but pain or inconvenience inflicted, because of something done or intended? Is there no punishment but that which causes *corporal suffering*? Are there not pangs "sharper than what the body knows"? Is an *incapacity* to be called to an office of public trust or emolument, no penalty? Is it not a putting down of those, declared incapable, below the rest of their fellow citizens? and is reproach, is loss of rank in society, no privation—no injury? The oppressor's scorn and the proud man's contumely, are classed by him, who of all mere mortals, seems to have best understood human nature, and to have most thoroughly read the human heart, as among the sorest ills which flesh is heir to. Insult is, of all injuries, the hardest to be borne. And what can be a more direct insult to any man, than a deliberable declaration that he is utterly unworthy of confidence. Why, sir, the miserable wretch who is whipped for larceny, writhes less under his torture, than under the *disabilities* which the conviction produces. It is no punishment to any individual not to be called on to give testimony, but to be declared infamous and incapable of giving testimony, is more than he can bear. Disgrace is the worst of punishments. It is like the shirt of Nessus, which stung the fabled son of Jove

into madness. I pity, from the bottom of my heart, the poor creature who hankers after office. There is not one which this people can give, that I would turn on my heel to obtain. But to be declared by the Constitution disqualified for office, is an indignity which I could not but feel, although the consciousness that it is unmerited, might enable me to treat it with calm scorn.

Sir, I am opposed, out and out, to any interference of the State with the *opinions* of its citizens, and more especially with their opinions on Religious subjects. The good order of society requires that *actions* and *practices* injurious to the public peace and public morality, should be restrained, and but a moderate portion of practical good sense is required to enable the proper authorities to decide what conduct is really thus injurious. But to decide on the truth or error, on the salutary or pernicious consequences of *opinions*, requires a skill in dialectics, a keenness of discernment, a forecast and comprehension of mind, and above all, an exemption from bias, which do not ordinarily belong to human tribunals. The preconceived opinions of him, who is appointed to try, become the standard by which the opinions of others are measured, and as these correspond with, or differ from his own, they are pronounced true or false, salutary or pernicious. Let the Arminian pass on the doctrines of the high Calvinist and he will have no hesitation in branding them as utterly destructive of the distinctions between right and wrong, and leading to the subversion of all morality. Let the Calvinist determine on the soundness and the tendencies of the Arminian faith, and he will have little difficulty in arraigning it for blasphemy, as stripping the Almighty of his essential attributes, and setting up man as independent of God and needing not his grace. Law is the proper judge of action, and reward or punishment its proper sanction. Reason is the proper umpire of opinion, and argument and discussion its only fit advocates. To denounce opinions by law is as silly, and unfortunately much more tyrannical, as it would be, to punish crime by logic. Laws calls out the force of the community to compel obedience to its mandates. To operate on opinion by law, is to enslave the intellect and oppress the soul—to reverse the order of nature and make reason subservient to force. But of all the attempts to arrogate unjust dominion, none is so pernicious as the efforts of tyrannical men to rule over

the human conscience. Religion is exclusively an affair between man and his God. If there be any subject upon which the interference of human power is more forbidden, than on all others, it is on Religion. Born of Faith—nurtured by Hope—invigorated by Charity—looking for its rewards in a world beyond the grave—it is of Heaven, heavenly. The evidence upon which it is founded, and the sanctions by which it is upheld, are addressed solely to the understanding and the purified affections. Even HE, from whom cometh every pure and perfect gift, and to whom Religion is directed as its author, its end, and its exceedingly great reward, imposes no coercion on his children. They believe, or doubt, or reject, according to the impressions which the testimony of revealed truth makes upon their minds. He causes His Sun to shine, alike on the believer and the unbeliever, and His dews to fertilize equally the soil of the orthodox and the heretic. No earthly gains or temporal privations are to influence their judgment here, (and it is reserved until the last day, for the just Judge of all the Earth to declare who have criminally refused to examine or to credit the evidences which were laid before them. But civil rulers thrust themselves in and become God's avengers. Under a pretended zeal for the honor of His house, and the propagation of His Revelation,

Snatch from His hand the balance and the rod;

Rejudge His justice—are the God of God;

define faith by Edicts, Statutes and Constitutions; deal out largesses to accelerate conviction, and refute unbelief and heresy by the unanswerable logic of pains and penalties. Let not religion be abused for this impious tyranny—religion has nothing to do with it. Nothing can be conceived more abhorrent from the spirit of true Religion, than the hypocritical pretensions of Kings, Princes, Rulers and Magistrates to uphold her holy cause by their unholy violence.

Sir, when that moment had arrived at which an offended but yet gracious God was pleased to send his beloved Son into the world for the redemption of sinning and sinful man, a Messenger of light announced the glad tidings to the astonished Shepherds that were watching their flocks in the stillness of night, on the plains of Judea; and suddenly, he was joined by a multitude of the Heavenly Host, chanting "Glory to God in the Highest, and

on Earth, Peace, good will unto Men." Certainly never was there an event so fit to call forth this gratulation from Heaven to Earth, never an annunciation so abounding in peace and good will to all the children of Adam.

He, whose birth, it proclaimed, had long been promised under the appellation of "the Prince of Peace." Of him it had been predicted, "he shall not strive nor cry, neither shall any man hear his voice in the streets; a bruised reed shall he not break, nor smoking flax shall he quench, till he send forth judgment unto victory." Truly did he bring good will and love to man, for "greater love hath no man, than this, to lay down his life for his friends." Meek and humble, patient, long-suffering, and kind to all, by example as by precept, he inculcated brotherly love as the characteristic distinction by which his disciples were to be known, and forbade all violence, strife and contention in his cause. When asked to what extent the duty of forgiveness should be carried to an offending brother, he declared it to be without limit, and to the enquiry, "who is my neighbor"? he answered by that beautiful parable which, more than any positive precept, teaches that the schismatic and the heretic come within the sacred embrace of Charity. When James and John would have called down fire from Heaven to punish the cities of Samaria, that withstood him because his face was turned to Jerusalem, he rebuked them, as not knowing what manner of spirit they were of. When, in the defence of his divine Master, the ardent Peter smote the servant of the High Priest, he reproved him for the violent deed and ordered him to return the sword to its scabbard. Dragged before wicked Priests and wicked Rulers, and questioned upon the false charge by which it was sought to take away his life, he calmly proclaimed that his kingdom was not of this world. And when, finally, the unspeakable deed of iniquity was done—that deed, which nature could not witness without proclaiming her abhorrence at which the Sun withdrew his light, and the earth quaked, and the graves gave up their dead—he breathed his last sigh in supplicating forgiveness for his persecutors. Truly has his message been one of peace and good will to man. Look through the world, and you will find liberty, law, order, science and civilization, existing only where this message is known. It is not the Religion of the Redeemer which requires for its support the de-

nunciations of law. Violent, wicked, selfish and cunning men, in all times and in all countries, seek to hide from others, and sometimes even from themselves, the purposes which they would accomplish and the motives by which they are actuated. The alliance between King and Church, or between State and Church, by which the latter has been taken into the keeping of the Civil Power, has sprung not so much from a zeal for Religion, not so much even from bigotry or fanaticism, as from the crooked policy of tyrannical men. A Law-Church is a convenient instrument for rulers, whether with or without religion. It enlarges their dominion, by extending it over the minds of their subjects. It puts at their disposal the high places in the Church, and enlists in their service its Ministers and Teachers. It makes Kings and Princes and Magistrates the heads of God's spiritual kingdom, and renders it sacrilege as well as treason to resist their sway. Thus has the religion of peace and brotherly love been held up as the pretext for tyranny and persecution, and its holy name been desecrated to purposes of plunder and outrage. The offices of the realm were of course the property of those only who would embrace the religion of the realm, for to differ from the Sovereign in religion, was in effect to refuse him allegiance, and disqualification for office was but a mild punishment for so heinous a crime. This penalty, which some amongst us so tenaciously cling to, is but a part of the necessary sanctions for maintaining the alliance between Church and State; for upholding a Law Church. Yet, gentlemen would fain retain it here, where the Constitution forbids the establishment of any one Church or denomination in preference to another. Let them act with some degree of consistency. Either let them blot out this appendage of an established Church, or set up a Church *as the Church of North Carolina*. Perhaps, however, they fear that the country is not yet ripe for accomplishing the latter purpose, and as cause and effect act mutually on each other, they would content themselves for the present by preserving this feature of religious preference as preliminary to, and preparing the way for, a State-Religion, at a more convenient season.

Sir, although this alliance of Religion and the Civil power did not take place for many centuries after christianity was first

promulgated to the world, it became at length so general, that when the American Colonies were settled, there was no country in Europe which had not its established Church. In the train of this establishment, followed all the usual consequences of intolerance and persecution. He who did not believe according to law, was punished as a disloyal subject. Degraded, fined, imprisoned, plundered and proscribed at home, because of the exercise of man's noblest prerogative, the right to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience, different sects of European Christians fled from this detested tyranny to the Western side of the Atlantic. And here it was, that Religion was emancipated from her thralldom to Princes and Rulers, and the principle of *Freedom of Conscience* adopted as a political axiom, and placed at the very foundation of Civil Institutions. Sir, the honor, the immortal honor of being the first to assert this noble truth, belongs to the illustrious founders of the Catholic Colony of Maryland. Every friend of freedom throughout the world owes a large debt of gratitude to these benefactors of the human race. Let me avail myself of the occasion to lay before the Committee some notices of them and of their doing, well worthy to be remembered, and which I have taken chiefly from a highly respectable work, "Bancroft's History of the United States." The research, love of truth and ability, by which this work is characterized, render it an authority on all matters of our early history, and on this subject especially, there is nothing to fear from any prejudice or partiality of the author.

At the head of the founders of Maryland was George Calvert, Lord Baltimore. He was a gentleman of high character, talents and accomplishments, who, from the purest motives, had embraced the principles of the Roman Catholic Faith. He made an open profession of his conversion, and was consequently obliged to surrender the high office which he held as one of the two Secretaries of State to James the First. While Secretary, he had obtained a Patent for the Southern Promontory of Newfoundland and had expended much money in a fruitless attempt to settle its rugged and sterile shores. He afterwards obtained a Patent for a tract of country north of the Potomac, then uninhabited, except by scattered hordes of Indians. The Patent was drawn up according to his suggestions, although it was finally issued after

his death in favor of his son, Cecil Calvert. In this fundamental charter of the Colony of Maryland were to be found the most admirable provisions for Civil and Religious freedom. "Unlike any patent which had hitherto passed the great seal of England, it secured to the emigrant an independent share in the legislation of the Province, of which the Statutes were to be established with the advice and approbation of the majority of the freemen or their deputies." Sir George Calvert, "far from guarding his territory against any but those of his persuasion, as he had taken from himself and his successors all arbitrary power, by establishing the legislative franchises of the people, so he took from them the means of being intolerant in religion, by securing to all present and future liege people of the English King, without distinction of sect or party, free leave to transport themselves and their families to Maryland. Christianity was by the charter made the law of the land, but no preference was given to any sect, and equality in religious rights, not less than in civil freedom, was assured." [1 Bancroft's History, 260]. "Calvert deserves to be ranked among the most wise and benevolent law-givers of all ages. He was *the first* in the history of the Christian World to seek for religious security and peace by the practice of justice; to plan the establishment of popular institutions with the enjoyment of liberty of conscience; to advance the career of civilization by recognizing the rightful equality of all Christian sects. The asylum of *Papist* was the spot, where, in a remote corner of the world, on the banks of rivers which had been as yet unexplored, the mild forbearance of a Proprietary adopted Religious Freedom as the basis of the State." [Ditto, 262] "Memorable was the character of the Maryland Institutions. *Every other country* had persecuting laws." "I will not," (such was the oath of the Governor of Maryland), "I will not, by myself or any other, directly or indirectly trouble, molest, or discountenance any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, for or in respect of Religion." "Under the mild institutions and munificence of Baltimore, the dreary wilderness soon bloomed with the swarming life and activity of prosperous settlements; the Roman Catholics oppressed by the laws of England, were sure to find a peaceful asylum in the quiet harbors of the Cheasapeake; and there, too, *Protestants* were sheltered against *Protestant* in-

tolerance." [Do. 266]. Yes, sir, while the Puritans persecuted Episcopalians in New England, and the Episcopalians persecuted the Puritans in Virginia, the oppressed of *every Province* found freedom and security in Maryland. "The disfranchised friends of Prelacy from Massachusetts, and the Puritans from Virginia, were welcome to an equality of political rights in the Roman Catholic Province of Maryland." [Ditto, 277]. The early history of Maryland is one on which the eye delights to dwell; it is the history of benevolence, gratitude and toleration. The Biographer of Baltimore could with truth assert, "that his Government, in conformity with his strict and repeated injunctions, had never given disturbance to any person in Maryland, for matters of religion; that the colonists enjoyed freedom of conscience not less than freedom of person and estate, as amply as ever did any people in any place of the world." [Ditto, 277]. There was one attempt, a most ungrateful attempt, to mar the scene of harmony and moral beauty, and, for a short time, it unfortunately succeeded. After the dissolution in England of the long Parliament and the assumption of all power by the Lord Protector Cromwell, some of his followers in this country seized the government of Maryland, and administered the affairs of the province by a Board of Commissioners. The result is thus described by the Historian:—"Intolerance followed upon this arrangement; for parties in Maryland had become identified with Religious sects. The Puritans, ever the friends to popular liberty, hostile to a monarchy, and equally so to a hereditary proprietary, contended earnestly for civil liberty; but had neither the gratitude to respect the rights of the Government by which they had been received and fostered, nor magnanimity to continue the toleration to which alone they were indebted for their continuance in the colony.—A new Assembly convened at Patuxent, acknowledged the authority of Cromwell, but it also exasperated the whole Romish party by their wanton disfranchisement. An act concerning Religion confirmed the freedom of conscience, PROVIDED the liberty were not extended to *Popery, Prelacy or licentiousness of opinion*."—(Pretty extensive exceptions)! "Yet Cromwell, remote from the scene of strife, was not betrayed by his religious prejudices into an approbation of the ungrateful decree. He commanded the Commissioners not to busy themselves about Religion, but to settle the Civil Government." [Ditto, 281].

The next example of Religious Freedom, secured in the original and fundamental institutions of a State, was given to the world by the great and amiable Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island and one of the most distinguished ornaments of the Religious Society of the Baptists. This extraordinary man, at the age of thirty, had *matured* a doctrine which secures to him imperishable fame. A fugitive from religious persecution in England, "he had resolved in the capacious recesses of his mind the nature of intolerance—and he, and he alone, had arrived at *the great principle* which is its only effectual remedy. He announced his discovery under the simple proposition of the *sanctity of conscience*. The civil magistrate should restrain crime, but never *control opinion*—should punish *guilt* but never violate the *freedom of the soul*." [1 Bancroft's History, 398]. "In the unwavering assertion of his views, he never changed his position; the sanctity of conscience was the great tenet, which, with all its consequences, he defended as he first trod the shores of New England; and in his extreme old age, it was the last pulsation of his heart. But it placed the young emigrant in direct opposition to the whole system upon which Massachusetts was founded, and gentle and forgiving as was his temper, prompt as he was to concede every thing which honesty permitted, he always asserted his belief with temperate firmness and unbending benevolence." [Ditto, 399]. It was impossible, that with these fixed principles of enlarged liberality, he should not often have come in opposition to the fierce doctrines which then obtained. The persecuted Pilgrims of Massachusetts were such zealous lovers of Civil and Religious Freedom, that they would fain keep it all to themselves. They could not abandon the idea of punishing heresy as a crime against the State, and of upholding God's law by human force. "Magistrates were selected exclusively from *members of the Church*. With equal propriety reasoned Williams, might a Doctor of Physic or a Pilot be selected according to his skill in Theology and his standing in the Church." It was objected to him, that his principles subverted all good government. The commander of the vessel of State, replied Williams, may maintain order on board the ship, and see that it pursues its course steadily, even though the dissenters of the crew are not compelled to attend the public prayers of their companions. But the controversy finally

turned on the question of "the rights and duties of magistrates" (thereby meaning civil rulers) to *guard the minds of the people* against corruption, and to punish what would seem to them heresy. Magistrates, Williams asserted, are but the agents of the people or their trustees, on whom *no spiritual power* in matters of religion can be conferred, since conscience belongs to the individual, and is not the property of the body politic; and with admirable dialects, clothing the great truth in its boldest form, he asserted, that "the civil magistrate may not intermeddle even to stop a church from apostacy and heresy," and that equal protection should be extended to every sect and every form of worship." With corresponding distinctness, he foresaw the influence of his principles upon society. "The removal of the yoke of *soul oppression*," to use the words in which, at a later day, he confirmed his early views, "as it will prove an act of mercy and righteousness to the enslaved nations, so it is of binding force to engage *the whole* and every interest and conscience to *preserve the common liberty and peace*." [Ditto 401, 402]. Compelled to fly, because of these obnoxious opinions, in winter snow, and stormy weather, for fourteen weeks not knowing what bread or bed did mean, often without fire, food or companion, often without a guide and with no shelter but a hollow tree, he at length found a safe refuge and kind treatment among the Narragansett Indians. From them he purchased an extensive territory, and there founded the Commonwealth of Rhode Island, wherein the will of the majority was to govern in all civil things, and God alone respected as the ruler of conscience. Admirable as is the history of Roger Williams, there is no trait in his character so touching as his conduct towards his persecutors. When a most formidable conspiracy was about to be formed between the Pequods and Narragansetts, for the destruction of Massachusetts, this excellent man not only was the first to communicate intelligence of the pending mischief, but encountered every extremity of peril to avert it.—"Taking shipping, alone, in a wretched canoe, he hastened to the house of the 'Sachem of the Narragansetts.' The Pequot ambassadors, reeking with blood, were already there; and for three days and nights the business compelled him to lodge and mix with them, having cause every night to expect their knives at his throat. The Narragansetts were unwavering; but he

succeeded in dissolving the formidable conspiracy. It was the most intrepid and successful achievement in the whole Pequod War; an action, as perilous in its execution, as it was fortunate in its issue." [Ditto, 430, 431].

Next in the roll of the illustrious Law-makers who made Religious Freedom the basis of their Institutions, came the just and benevolent William Penn. His colony of Pennsylvania was planted, grew, and thrived under the auspices of the same wise and liberal policy. Maryland, Rhode Island and Pennsylvania, before the American Revolution, were the *only* countries in which the equality of all Christian sects was established as a rule of fundamental law. It could not but be, however, that a principle so simple, so liberal, so humane, so wise, should make its way to universal adoption, where not opposed by inveterate prejudice or artificial policy. As soon as the Revolution broke out, the people of the other Colonies or States began to proclaim the principle of Religious Freedom. It is asserted, as we have seen, in our Bill of Rights, with the utmost solemnity, and the establishment or preference of any religious denomination by law, is expressly interdicted by the Constitution. Yet, this declaration of Religious Freedom, and this prohibition of a State Religion, are accompanied by the strange clause we are now examining. It would seem as though men cannot open their eyes suddenly on too bright a light. So in the Constitution of New Jersey, care is taken to place *all* Protestant sects beyond the power of legislative action, while with respect to others, *though no exclusion is pronounced*, the same security is not given. But finally, in every other of the twenty-four States of this Union, *perfect Religious Freedom*, perfect equality of sects, an entire exemption from religious tests, are now solemnly declared to be the basis on which rest all their Institutions. This salutary principle has spread across the Atlantic, and triumphed over the misrule and inveterate usages of the ancient Governments there. With scarcely an exception, it now prevails throughout *all* Europe, and Religious opinions are no longer there a qualification for, or an incapacity for Civil employment. And can it be, that *we* shall prove recreant in this noble strife for securing the sanctity of conscience and purity of religion? Shall *we* afford to the bigots, the fanatics and the friends of arbitrary power abroad, an apology for claiming this State as an ally in the cause of Intolerance? I hope not.

I trust that we shall act *up* to the axiom proclaimed in our Bill of Rights, and permit no man to suffer inconvenience or to incur incapacity, because of religion, whether he be Jew or Gentile, Christian or Infidel, Heretic or Orthodox. Pollute not the ark of God with unholy touch. Divine Truth *needs* not the support of human power, either to convince the understanding or to regulate the heart. Dare not to define divine truth, for it belongs not to your functions, and you may set up falsehood and error in its stead. Prohibit, restrain and punish, as offences against human society, all practices insulting to the faith, the institutions, and the worship of your people, but offer no bribes to lure men to profess a faith which they do not believe, inflict no penalties to deter them from embracing what their understandings approve, and make no distinction of ranks and orders in the community because of religious opinions.

It is not without hesitation, Mr. Chairman, that I can bring myself to advert to some observations which have been thrown out in the course of the debate, in relation to the tenets, or supposed tenets of Roman Catholics. The great battle of Religious freedom should not be fought on such narrow ground, as the exclusion of any one sect from, or its admission to, a participation of political power. Whether the charges brought be true or false, the decision on this question should still be the same. Some of these charges are so absurd, that it seems like yielding them too much honor to notice them at all; but to pass them by in silence, might be considered as a tacit acquiescence in their truth. Besides, much allowance ought to be made for honest ignorance.—The Catholics in this State are very few, and those who have had no opportunity of knowing them personally, and have learned their tenets only through the medium of their enemies, cannot be much blamed for crediting the most ridiculous falsehoods. It has been asked, whether the allegiance of Catholics to the Pope be spiritual only, and the learned gentleman from Halifax has unquestionably shown that they do not owe him *civil* allegiance.—Sir, I object *in toto* to the term allegiance, as characterising the connection between the Catholic and the Chief Bishop of his Church. I owe *no allegiance* to any man or set of men on earth, save only to the State of North Carolina, and, so far as she has parted with her sovereignty, to the United States of America.—The charge that Catholics owe allegiance to the Pope is *wholly*

false. Spread over the whole earth—speaking different tongues—subjects of citizens of different governments—beings of different races and complexions—they are connected by a spiritual tie, the tie of one and the same faith, which constitutes them one Spiritual family or Church. For the regulation of this wide-spread Church, an Ecclesiastical or Spiritual Government is indispensable. This is mainly confided to the Bishops of the several Dioceses, and of these, the first in rank and jurisdiction is the Bishop of Rome. To him, subject to well defined laws and well ascertained usage, is committed the chief administration. To him—and to them—and to every spiritual or ecclesiastical teacher, *acting within his proper sphere*, respect and obedience are due. But no man owes to him, or them, or any of them, the duty implied by the term *allegiance*; the obligation of personal *fidelity*, the obligation of *defense*, as an equivalent for the benefit of *protection*. Should the Chief Bishop, in the pretended exercise of his ecclesiastical powers, (for in the Church he is known only as an Ecclesiastical superior) attempt to encroach upon the jurisdiction of the other Pastors of the Church, who claim their power from the same source from which his is derived, though not to the same extent; the principles of Catholics teach that such usurpation should be firmly and zealously resisted. Such usurpations have been attempted, and the History of Christendom shows that upon no point has there been a more jealous vigilance upon the part, not only of the Catholic Prelates, but of the Catholic people, to prevent and repel them. His authority—their authority, is *spiritual* only—has no connection with civil duties—and is enforced only by spiritual censures. He has not, and they have not any more right to interfere with a man's obligation to his country or his fellow men, than civil rulers have to interfere with a man's spiritual concerns. Catholics peremptorily deny that the Church has any temporal power, or any right to interpose in the regulations of Government, and hold themselves bound to resist, even unto death, as tyrannical usurpation, all attempts at such interference. As a proof that this doctrine was well known, even at the moment when for political purposes they have been most tyrannically treated by their Rulers, let me mention one extraordinary occurrence recorded in History. When Elizabeth of England had quarrelled with the Pope, and but recently put out of

the pale of Catholic communion; when she was the avowed champion of Protestantism, and engaged in a tremendous war with the Catholic Monarch, Philip of Spain, the brother of her deceased sister—in the very moment of her utmost peril—she committed the chief command of that small and gallant fleet which was opposed to the invincible Armada, into the hands of a known and exemplary Catholic, Lord Howard, of Effingham. And nobly was that confidence required. She knew, and his conduct showed, that he recognized no Sovereign but the Sovereign of his Country, and that his religious principles rendered him but the more resolved to discharge faithfully his duties as a subject.

It has been asked, whether Catholics do not believe in the power of the Pope to dispense with the obligations of an oath.—Sir, to prevent cavil, (if indeed the cavils of malicious censurers can be prevented), let me state a distinction between oaths. Usually, oaths are taken to render more binding obligations which a man contracts with his fellow man, or with the community. He swears to fulfil his promise; to testify the truth; to execute a duty; to defend the Constitution of his country. Catholics maintain, that neither the Pope, nor Bishops, nor all nor any of the Pastors of the Church, can dispense with the obligation to observe such an oath. No power on earth, except it be the person or the community to whom the engagement is made, can free him from the obligation to keep it, even if an oath had not been superadded. The effrontery with which the contrary is asserted, does not at all prevent it from being a downright calumny. There are others besides factious politicians, who, in their zeal to villify their foes, disregard that awful command of God, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor." There is another class of oaths, called vows—solemn promises made to God—in which no *third* party is concerned, unless it may be the Church itself which may have exacted them. In these, when a fit case is presented, or believed to be presented—a dispensation from the *vow* may be given. This is not the occasion nor the place to vindicate, it is my purpose only to state the doctrine. It is a question of nice casuistry to determine under what extraordinary circumstances such an obligation may be released, but it is impossible not to admit that there are cases in which a compliance with a vow ought not to be enforced—and it is safer that the individual

should not himself be the judge in his own case. Perhaps the history of Jephtha may furnish an apt illustration, where a vow ought not to have been kept. In the course of its discipline the Church requires that the dispensers of its mysteries should devote themselves by a solemn vow, to a life of perpetual celibacy. Extraordinary instances have occurred, in which it has been thought justifiable to release or dispense with this vow. Oppressors in all ages and in all countries, set up pretexts for oppression, and among the excuses under which the exclusion of Irish Catholics from a share of political power was sought to be justified, the calumnies that Catholics own a foreign allegiance and admit a dispensing power from oaths, were most impudently insisted on. The late Mr. Pitt, as Prime Minister of England, contemplating an act of justice to these abused men, solemnly proposed a set of interrogatories to these charges to several of the most celebrated Catholic Theological Universities in Europe. Suffer me to call your attention to some of these, and to their answers. The following questions were proposed: *First*, Has the Pope, or have the Cardinals, or any body of men, or has any individual of the Church of Rome, *any civil authority*, power, jurisdiction or pre-eminence whatever, within the realm of England. *Second*, Can the Pope, or Cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, absolve or dispense his Majesty's subjects from their oath of allegiance, upon any pretence whatever? *Third*, Is there any principle in the tenets of the Catholic faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with Heretics, or other persons differing from them in Religious opinions, in *any transactions* either of a public or private nature? To these questions the Universities of Paris, Louvain, Alcalá, Salamanca and Valadolid, after expressing their astonishment that it could be thought necessary at the close of the 18th century, and in a country so enlightened as England, to propose such enquiries, severally and unanimously answered: 1st, That the Pope, or Cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, has not and have not any civil authority, power, jurisdiction or pre-eminence whatever, within the Realm of England.—2dly, That the Pope, or Cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, cannot absolve or dispense his Majesty's subjects from their oath of allegiance

upon any pretext whatsoever; and 3dly, That there is no principle in the tenets of the Catholic Faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with Heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in transactions either of a public or a private nature.

It has also been asked, whether Catholics do not believe that they can procure forgiveness of any sin, simply by confessing it to a Priest? At times, sir, I acknowledge that I have been irritated, but far oftener have I been amused, at the strange notions entertained and the strange inquiries made about Catholic doctrines. That it should enter into the head of any man, that the great body of the Christian world, embracing many of the wisest, most intelligent and most pious followers of the Redeemer, could for one moment admit so impious, so foolish a doctrine, I could not have believed, if I were not compelled to do so by what I have actually witnessed. What notions can such an enquirer entertain of a Catholic? Does he take him—I don't ask for a Christian—but for a rational being? A friend of mine, with whom, in early life, I spent many pleasant hours, and whom the tide of emigration has carried to the West, was accustomed to relate an incident which had actually occurred to him, as illustrative of the ignorance and prejudice of a portion of the people in relation to Federalism. He had represented one of the counties of this State for several years in the General Assembly, and after quitting public life, had occasion to pass through it on an election day. Stopping at a public house, he met with some old acquaintances, well-meaning but uninformed men, who soon entered into conversation on the subject of the business of the day. "Of course," said my friend, addressing himself to one of them, "you all go for Major A. here—you used to support him, tooth and nail, in old times." "Why, no, sir," answered the good man, "we are not so mighty much for him as we used to be." "And how has that happened? What has occasioned such a change?" "Why haven't you heard, sir? Why, they say he's turned a *featheral*!" "Turned a *featheral*!" exclaimed my friend—"is it possible!—and pray what is a *featheral*?" "I don't exactly know, sir, (he rejoined), but I allow it *ain't a human!*" Such, surely, must be the conjecture which these querists entertain of the strange animal called a Papist. If quite candid, they will admit that the first time they saw

one, they peered in his face for the horns which should decorate his brow, then turned their eyes down to examine his cloven feet, and finally cast a sly glance behind to get a peep at the whiskery and pendulous ornament, which they had been accustomed to regard as the appropriate appendage of the Imps of Satan. It cannot be expected, that I should enter into a detailed explanation of the Catholic Tenets on the subject of Confession. It is enough for me to say, that it is the *settled doctrine of the Catholic Church*, that pardon for sin is not to be obtained but by faith, thorough and sincere repentance, a firm purpose by God's help not to sin again, a resolution, where the crime has been injurious to others, to make complete recompense for the wrong, and an application of the merits of the Redeemer to the soul of the penitent. Confession is part of an ordinance, which Catholics believe to have been instituted by the Saviour, which they term the Sacrament of Penance, and in which is demanded from the penitent an outward profession of that contrition by which he is internally penetrated. All practical Catholics—Popes, Prelates, and Priests, Emperors, Kings, Nobles, learned and unlearned, great and small, rich and poor, who feel their consciences oppressed with a sense of guilt, are required humbly to accuse themselves of their offences, and to *specify* them. It is not enough that they shall confess that they have done the things which they ought not to have done, and left undone the things which they ought to have done; but they are bound to admit themselves guilty in the sight of God, of having violated *this* command, and of having omitted *that* duty. And no pardon is pronounced, promised, invoked, expected or asked, but on the *express* condition of full repentance and future reformation. The enquiry is not *here*, whether this belief is orthodox, but whether this practice disqualifies them for the honest discharge of the duties of a citizen. Sir, my testimony may be of little avail, but I owe it to the cause of truth, and I will therefore give it without hesitation. I have mingled intimately with Christians of every denomination; but of all the religious observances with which I am acquainted, as practised by any sect, *none* so effectually as this, compels self-examination, keeps down pride of heart, checks progress in crime, or restrains irregular appetite and passion. Voltaire, who hated the Christian, and above all, the Catholic Religion, with intense hatred,

has yet left on record *his* opinion, that the wit of man never had devised and never could devise a happier security for human morals. Let those Christians who reject the practice as one too humiliating to be borne, and who deny that it has sufficient warrant for its introduction into the Church, calmly, resolutely and conscientiously oppose the Catholic faith by argument. But they ought not, and such of them as are indeed Christians, will not misrepresent or traduce it.

But it has been objected, that the Catholic Religion is unfavorable to freedom—nay, even incompatible with Republican Institutions. Ingenious speculations on such matters are worth little, and prove still less. Let me ask who obtained the great Charter of English freedom, but the Catholic Prelates and Barons at Runnymede? The oldest—the purest Democracy on earth, is the little Catholic Republic of St. Marino, not a day's journey from Rome. It has existed now for fourteen hundred years, and is so jealous of arbitrary power, that the Executive authority is divided between two Governors, who are elected every three months. Was William Tell, the founder of Swiss liberty, a Royalist? Are the Catholics of the Swiss Cantons in love with tyranny? Are the Irish Catholics friends to passive obedience and non-resistance? Was Lafayette, Pulaski, or Kosciusko, a foe to Civil Freedom? Was Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, unwilling to jeopard fortune in the cause of liberty? Let me give you, however, the testimony of George Washington. On his accession to the Presidency, he was addressed by the American Catholics, who, adverting to the restrictions on their worship, then existing in some of the States, express themselves thus: "The prospect of national prosperity is peculiarly pleasing to us on another account; because, while our country preserves her freedom and independence, we shall have a well-founded title to claim from her justice *the equal rights of citizenship, as the price of our blood spilt under your eye, and of our common exertions for her defence, under your auspicious conduct.*" This great man, who was utterly incapable of flattery and deceit, utters in answer the following sentiments, which I give in his own words: "As mankind become more liberal, they will be more apt to allow that all those who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community, are equally entitled to the protection of Civil Gov-

ernment. I hope ever to see America among the *foremost* nations in examples of justice and liberality; and I presume that your fellow-citizens *will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their Revolution and the establishment of their Government*, or the important assistance which they received from a nation in which the Roman Catholic Faith is professed." By the bye, Sir, I would pause for a moment to call the attention of this Committee to some of the names subscribed to this Address. Among them are those of John Carroll, the first Roman Catholic Bishop in the United States, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, and Thomas Fitzsimmons. For the character of these distinguished men, if they needed vouchers, I would confidently call on the venerable President of this Convention. Bishop Carroll was one of the best of men and most humble and devout of Christians. I shall never forget a tribute to his memory paid by the good and venerable Protestant Bishop White, when contrasting the piety with which the Christian Carroll met death, with the cold trifling that characterized the last moments of the sceptical David Hume. I knew not whether the tribute was more honorable to the piety of the dead, or to the charity of the living Prelate. Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, the last survivor of the Signers of American Independence—at whose death both Houses of the Legislature of North Carolina unanimously testified their grief, as at a national bereavement! Thomas Fitzsimmons, one of the illustrious Convention that framed the Constitution of the United States, and for several years the Representative in Congress of the City of Philadelphia. Were these, and such as these, foes to freedom and unfit for Republicans? Would it be dangerous to permit such men to be Sheriffs or Constables in the land? Read the Funeral Eulogium of Charles Carroll, delivered at Rome by Bishop England—one of the greatest ornaments of the American Catholic Church—a foreigner indeed by birth, but an American by adoption, and who, on becoming an American, solemnly abjured *all* allegiance to every foreign King, Prince and Potentate whatever—that Eulogium which was so much carped at by English Royalists and English Tories—and I think you will find it democratic enough to suit the taste and find an echo in the heart of the sternest Republican amongst us. Catholics are of all countries—of all governments—of all political creeds.

In all, they are taught that the kingdom of Christ is not of this world—and that it is their duty to render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and unto God, the things which are God's.

But, Sir, the gentleman from Martin has told us with the air of one who firmly believed that he was announcing a truth of mighty import, that he had heard somebody say, that he had heard a man, who called himself a Catholic, say, that he no more minded taking an oath on a Bible, than on a Spelling-book.

[Mr. Cooper begged leave to correct the gentleman from Craven—he had said the *Testament*, not the *Bible*].

Mr. Gaston proceeded: I beg the gentleman's pardon for the mistake. As this is the *only* argument which has been yet put forth *in defence* of the proscription contained or supposed to be contained in the 32d Article, it is right that it should be stated with precision. I thank him for the correction, and assure him that the mistake was one of inadvertence, not of design.—Straws indicate whence the wind blows—and this *argument* shows whence arises the Anti-Popery clamour. It may be thought idle to treat it seriously—but if that gentleman be in earnest, and I am bound to suppose he is, I am sure that *he* at least will take kindly the explanation which I am about to give him. It is the doctrine of Catholics that an oath is a solemn appeal to God—and that such an appeal, in *whatever form* made, is binding on man's conscience. The Catholic Church prescribes no form for an oath, but leaves that to be regulated by the usages or laws of every country. The invocation of the God of Heaven—deliberately and solemnly—as the Author of Truth and the avenger of Falsehood, constitutes the oath. In ancient times, before the discovery of Printing, and when Bibles were rare, the most usual ceremony accompanying the oath was kissing the Cross as the emblem of man's salvation, and the type of Christ's astonishing sacrifice. In several Catholic countries, this mode yet prevails. In others, it has been succeeded by the ceremony of kissing the book of God's holy Gospel. In others, by the outstretched arm, raised towards Heaven. In all countries, and in all sects, there are ignorant and wicked men who attach importance to the form in which an oath is administered and disregard its substance. He who has been accustomed to see it always taken in one prescribed manner, may think it not obliga-

tory when otherwise tendered. Just as I have seen, and every professional man in North Carolina of extensive practice has seen, miserable fools and knaves *here* who thought to escape the guilt of perjury, if they were careful not to bring the Testament into *actual contact* with their lips.

Another gentleman, (Mr. Speight of Greene), who has a great reverence for Religion, but is not as religious as he could wish to be, and has a great toleration for all Religious, but for some unexplained cause, will vote for retaining the 32d section as it is, has thought proper to read two extracts from a controversial work—Faber's difficulties of Romanism. It is manifest that the gentleman had resolved how to vote and had resolved also to speak, before he found the book which was to furnish the chief materials of his speech. The selections were made in haste, and therefore turn out to be unsuited for the purposes which they were brought forward to answer. The first passage gives a form of profession of faith, in which the declarant is made to say, that he rejects, condemns and anathematises as heresy, whatever the Church by any general Council has decreed ought to be rejected, condemned and anathematised, as heresy. This I presume is quoted as an instance of intolerant persecution. I suppose that no man can be regarded as a member of a Church, who rejects *the creed* of that Church, and that of course he regards those doctrines as erroneous, which the creed of his Church pronounces to be erroneous. Catholics believe that the unity of faith can only be maintained by preserving as a sacred deposit, the doctrines originally revealed from Heaven—that the Pastors of the Church form the tribunal *to testify* in every place and in every age not opinions, but the fact of this original communication—that when doubts or disputes arise on matters of faith, these witnesses are summoned from all parts of the world to declare what has been handed down to them as that communication—that when they concur in declaring that the doctrine has or has not been delivered to them as part of the original deposit of faith—the members of the Church then have certain evidence and certain knowledge of the truth. This is what is meant by the infallibility of the Church—not the infallibility of the Pope—this is no part of the Catholic Faith, but the infallibility of the Church. What it has authoritatively de-

cided to be truth, must be received as truth by all her children. What it has thus decided to be error, they must also pronounce to be error. If they choose to set up their individual *opinion* in opposition, not to the *opinion*, but to the testimony of the Church, with regard to *the fact* of a revelation—they can do so. But then they separate from her communion, and to God it must be left to pronounce how far such separation has proceeded from innocent mistake or guilty pride. But does any man infer, because the *doctrine* which the Church denounces as erroneous, the members of that Church also denounce as erroneous, that therefore the Church or its members are to *punish* with *civil penalties*—to persecute with degradation, pecuniary mulcts, torture or death the *persons* who profess these erroneous doctrines. I can only say that if so, he reasons most illogically. His conclusion is a plain *non sequiter*. Connected with this mistake or misrepresentation is another, which I have heard of, although it has not been mentioned here. It is said that the Catholic Bishops actually take an oath to *persecute* heretics! Whether this charge originated in misapprehension or in calumny, it is equally false. They pledge themselves diligently to search out, follow after and remove all false doctrines which may spring up among their flocks. The latin term "*Prosequor*," to follow out or follow after, from which has come the well-known term Prosecution—the carrying on of an enquiry or investigation—has been changed into *persecute*; the doctrines have been changed into the *persons* who profess them, and by this slight alteration of phrases, an obligation, perfectly Christian in its character, has been converted into an inhuman and anti-Christian vow of persecution. But the gentleman was solicitous to show how inhuman Catholics had actually been in the persecution of Protestants, and for that avowed purpose produced the other selection from Faber. In a note to Faber, a statement is given of a ferocious engagement entered into by the Representatives of many Princes and Ecclesiastics who had attended the Council of Lutheran, for hunting out and reducing to servitude a set of Heretics whom they designate by several opprobrious names. It is not easy at this time, to ascertain how far these unfortunate beings deserved the hatred which they had incurred; but it is impossible not to revolt at the cruelties denounced against them. It is rather lu-

dicrous, however, to call this a persecution of Protestants, since it took place about three hundred and forty years before Protestants and Protestantism were heard of. It happened in the year 1189. If the gentleman had more fully examined the subject, he would have met with little difficulty in finding more appropriate instances to establish upon Catholics the charge of having persecuted Protestants. Had he examined into the history of religious persecution extensively, he would have found as little difficulty in showing that Protestants had not been one whit behind in persecuting Catholics—or in persecuting each other.—But why is this humiliating and disgusting subject raked up, and exhibited? Is it for the purpose of awakening ancient animosities, of creating bad feelings, of blowing into a flame the sleeping embers of wrath, malice and uncharitableness? This does not seem a very humane, wise or liberal purpose. Alas! I fear that even now we are deserving of the reproach of the cynical Swift; we have just religion enough to hate, and not enough to love each other. Further exertions to increase this anti-christian disposition would seem to be at least unnecessary. The history of Persecution may, however, be properly referred to, for another and a very different purpose—to show the mischiefs which necessarily follow from making religion an affair of State, and giving a political predominance to any sect—to demonstrate that Calvert, Williams and Penn, acted with the benevolence of Christians and the wisdom of Statesmen, in making all sects equal before the law—to invite us to follow in their footsteps and to pursue their principles out to their full and legitimate extent, by obliterating from the constitutional law of North Carolina every vestige of the spirit of persecution for conscience sake, every trace of disqualification and proscription because of religious principles.—I hope and trust, that this will be done, and that North Carolina will shake off the reproach of lagging behind the other States of the Union, behind the lately enlightened States of Europe, and behind even the spirit of the age, by incorporating into her fundamental institution the principle of perfect Religious freedom. I protest against all partial and mitigated reforms of the doctrine of Intolerance. Of course, I must accept the *most* that can be obtained, but I shall not be content with any thing short of the total abrogation of Religious Tests.

So far as the question has been discussed here, there has been in effect *no contest*. The cause of Intolerance has been left undefended. Gentlemen have had too much pride, too much sense of character, to undertake before this enlightened Assembly, to *vindicate* this proscriptive Article in our Constitution. They have argued about and around the true question, and have suggested different considerations for declining to act upon the subject; but they have not ventured to come out openly, and insist that the Article is a wise and salutary provision. The cause of Intolerance has been undefended, because it is indefensible. The advocates of freedom might confidently, then, one would think, calculate that the result will be auspicious even to their utmost hopes. But, alas, sir, it by no means follows, that the decision of this body will be an exact expression of *its conviction*. There are many external forces to disturb our judgment, and cause it to *swerve* from its propriety. Would that the noble sentiment, which we yesterday heard, as it came with such truth and feeling from the lips of youthful and fervid eloquence, (Mr. Rayner),—"Dare do right, and trust the consequences to God,"—were the governing principle upon every question here! Not a doubt could then be entertained of the result. In the sincerity of my soul, I believe there are not twenty, and I doubt whether there be ten members of the Convention, who would not be well pleased to have the section utterly obliterated. But gentlemen declare themselves afraid, alarmed, lest they should give a shock to prejudice, and this is spoken of as if it were some dreadful and appalling calamity. Suppose they should, what is the mighty mischief? It may impose upon them the necessity, if they wish to stand well with their neighbors, to explain the reasons by which they have been influenced, and to prove the propriety of their course. This is some inconvenience indeed, but surely no one expects that the way of duty is to be always smooth and pleasant, a mere primrose path of dalliance. It is possible, however, that the inconvenience may be greater than this. They may not be able to convince all their constituents that the decision was right. Such may be the ignorance, or prejudice, or excitement, at home, that it will not immediately yield to reason. And has it come to this? Is all our boasted Patriotism an empty name? Is a public man to risque nothing for the public good? Shall he model himself after Mr. By-ends, of Fair-Speech, in the Pilgrim's

Progress? This distinguished personage was desirous to accompany Christian and Faithful in their pilgrimage to the Celestial City, but then he made it a rule "never to sail against wind or tide," and always "had the luck to jump in judgment with the present state of the times, whatever it might be." I am humbled—I almost despair of my country—when I find honorable men, clothed with the holy trust of passing in judgment on the things which make for the lasting freedom, honor and happiness of this people, hesitating to do right—looking over their shoulders—fearing that they may run counter to a partial or temporary excitement at home, and thus yield a petty advantage to some miserable factious demagogue in the contest for popular favor. It would seem as if the tenure of office had become a species of privileged villainage—public trust to be held only on the render of base services. Favor is not worth having, if it is to be propitiated or secured upon these terms. But gentlemen declare that it is not on account of the consequences to themselves they are afraid to give a decided vote for Religious Freedom.—These consequences they are prepared to hazard—but they fear, should the Constitution be so amended as to come in conflict with Sectarian prejudice, this may endanger its adoption by the people. If, indeed, this fear be well founded, it opens a view well calculated to excite the most painful forebodings. Our brethren from the West have complained of unequal representation as an intolerable grievance, and have demanded its removal with the most persevering earnestness. If, when this object is arranged to their entire satisfaction, they shall nevertheless reject the amended Constitution, unless it enables them to prescribe from a participation in places of trust, those who differ from them in religion, then one of two conclusions is necessarily forced upon the mind. Either the evil complained of, has not been as sore as they would make us believe, or such is the bitterness of their sectarian zeal, as to render it utterly unsafe to trust them with the political power of the State. The inconveniences of unequal representation are not to be compared with the mischiefs of Religious persecution—and those in the East who have been solicitous to cure the former, would be traitors to their country, if under any pretence, they opened a door for the infliction of the latter. I pretend not to be a politician, and am poorly qualified

to judge what effect particular amendments may have in rendering the new Constitution palatable or unpalatable to the mass of the people; but I can never believe that there is danger of rendering our work unacceptable, by embodying in it the strongest provisions in favor of religious liberty. No doubt there are many who, either because of rooted prejudice, or mis-information, or temporary excitement (it is needless to say how, when, or by whom produced) wish the Constitution to confine offices only to those whom they deem of the Orthodox Faith. It is possible, that a portion of these will not yield this unreasonable requisition to any explanations which may be made, or any reasons which can be urged. Nay, it may even happen, that some few may, on that account, vote against a ratification of the Constitution, although in all other respects rendered conformable to their views.

But we may rest assured that their number can bear no assignable proportion to the great body of intelligent and liberal men, East and West, who will support no Constitution inconsistent with the first principles of rational freedom, and who are ready to come forward as its advocates if it be made to conform to them. A very few noisy individuals, scattered here and there, although their clamor may be loud, must not be taken as fair exponents of the public sentiment. The steady, reflecting and determined portion of the community make little noise and show little excitement, for it is not their nature to be clamorous. But when the fit moment comes, they act, and their action is decisive. I have more than once endeavored to impress upon the Convention, the expediency of making no unnecessary changes in the practical forms and usages of the Government. In these, I would consult even the common prejudices of the country. The people are accustomed to the observance of ancient forms. Habitual obedience begets reverence and attachment to them, and thus a strong tie is made to connect their feelings and opinions with the institutions of their country. He is no statesman who would rashly sever such a tie. In the matter however, which we are now examining, there is no practical usage which is sought to be discarded—no new form or regulation attempted to be introduced in its stead. The proscriptive denunciation contained in this Article, whether it could or could

not be enforced, never has been enforced. The question before us is one, not of practical convenience, but of fundamental principles. He who would sacrifice such principles to the passion or caprice or excitement of the moment, may be called a politician, but he is no Statesman. We are now examining into the soundness of the foundation of our institutions. If we rest the fabric of the Constitution upon prejudices, unreasoning and mutable prejudices, we build upon sand; but let us lay it on the broad and firm basis of natural right, equal justice and universal freedom—freedom of opinion—freedom, civil and religious—freedom as approved by the wise, and sanctioned by the good—and then may we hope that it shall stand against the storms of faction, violence and injustice, for *then* we shall have founded it upon a ROCK.

Mr. DOCKERY rose to make a suggestion to the gentleman from Craven, who had just addressed the House so eloquently, viz: That the propriety of amending this Article be submitted to the People in a distinct and separate proposition. To incorporate it in the Constitution, would endanger its ratification by the people. After the satisfactory exposition of the principles of the Catholic Faith by the gentleman from Craven, he was willing, individually, to amend the Article, but could not jeopard their whole labors here, by interfering with it.

Mr. D. said, it had become very fashionable here, and fashion was contagious, for gentlemen to give an expose of their Religious tenets. The gentleman from Buncombe, (Mr. Swain), said he belonged to the Presbyterian Church, if he had never been turned out. He (Mr. D.) belonged to the Baptist Church, and was certain he had not been turned out. But though a member of that Church, he was not opposed to exclude Catholics from office, however all who were opposed to the alteration of that Article at this juncture might be denounced as bigots or branded as fanatics. Was no respect to be paid to the feelings or prejudices of the people on this question? Whatever other political sins he might have to answer for, no one could accuse him of paying too much court to the people; on the contrary, his friends thought he paid too little; but when their wishes were known, they ought to be respected.

Much had been said by the gentleman from Craven, in relation to the overtures made to the East from the West. In his section

of country, nine-tenths of the people were not aware that this Article was to be touched. And why, sir? Because the publications referred to, were not distributed extensively in the West, information in that quarter not being necessary, as was imagined; but the East was flooded with pamphlets. It was sufficient for the West to know that a Convention was to be called to redress their grievances on the score of unequal Representation. As to the vote on Convention being thinner one year than another, to which the gentleman had alluded, it was owing to the circumstance of the people having discovered that this Article was to be changed. At one of the election grounds in his county, he had been asked by several gentlemen, if the Constitution, when formed, would be submitted to the people. On his assurance, that it would, they then said they would vote for calling a Convention, reserving the right to vote against the Constitution if this Article were interfered with.

Mr. D. repeated, that he wished to show that he did not deserve to be branded as a bigot; for, if an opportunity were offered him for voting to amend the Article at the polls, he would do so. He would do so in Convention, but from a conviction, that the people would reject the Constitution if it were altered.

Mr. GASTON said, that having expressed his views so fully, it was with extreme reluctance he rose to say another word. He had intended, when a similar suggestion to that now made by the kind gentleman from Richmond, was thrown out by the gentleman from Greene, (Mr. Speight), to have said a word in reply. The gentlemen seem to predicate their suggestions on the ground that *he* had some particular, personal interest in this matter.—He begged to assure them that this was not the case—that if Catholics were excluded from office, no man in the State would feel less pain at the circumstance than he would. He believed, if a downright attack was made upon Religious freedom by the retention of this article, it would stir up the real good sense of the people, and after a little effervescence of feeling had worked off, that there would be, from the mountains to the sea-board, but one sentiment of dissatisfaction.

With regard to the suggestion about detached amendments, he was for two reasons opposed to it. In the first place, we have no authority to do it; and in the second, if we had, we ought not.

We are to submit an *entire* Constitution to the people—not detached amendments—it must go to them as an *unit*.

Mr. HARRINGTON did not rise to inflict a speech on the Committee, but simply to say, that twelve years ago, having had the honor to propose that this stain should be blotted from our escutcheon, he was now, as then, disposed to incur any responsibility which might rest upon him. His voice, it was true, had not been heard in this discussion, but his silence must not be construed into a wish to skulk from duty. He was prepared to go for the most liberal amendment.

Mr. SMITH, of Orange, regretted that he should be again called to address the Committee on this question, but circumstances rendered it necessary he should appear either in person or by attorney. It would seem that the Convention had assembled to discuss the expediency of establishing some new Religion, or to witness the trial of the County of Orange and her Delegates on this floor. He had yet to learn what either of them had done to merit such particular distinction. He felt it to be his duty to submit a few observations, in reply to the gentleman from Craven who had singled out the people of Orange as a target to shoot at; though, as the Chairman of this Committee well knew, he did not possess the physical ability to go into an elaborate investigation of matters, which he once enjoyed.

In 1823, he was a member of the informal Convention, held in this City, to which the gentleman from Craven had alluded. This Article was discussed in that Convention, and was retained in the Constitution presented to the people. His own impression at the time, was, that it ought to be altered, but more mature reflection had changed his opinion. His name had also been read out by the gentleman, as composing one of a Committee appointed to distribute an Address, in which the expurgation of this Article was recommended. It was true, that the appointment had been conferred upon him, but it was equally true, that he had not distributed the documents forwarded to him. They were sent to his office in Hillsborough, where, he presumed, the greater portion of them yet remained. But suppose it all true! that he had circulated them, and that the people of Orange were once in favor of an amendment of this Article and were now opposed to it? He wanted to know who had the right to say they should not

change their opinions as often as they pleased. They had the right, and were not to be arraigned on this floor for the exercise of it. They also had the right to instruct their Delegates; for every community is privileged to express its opinions, and the right to do so in smaller matters, involves the right to do so on more important questions. Is Orange county, with her 2500 voters, too insignificant to be heard on this floor? Whatever others thought, he felt himself bound to obey the known wishes of his constituents, and he should do so.

Allusion has also been made, said Mr. S. to the small number of votes by which I was elected a Delegate of this body. The vote was not a large one, it is true Sir, but it was large enough to elect me. But why was the vote so small? There were ten Candidates, every one of whom was probably more worthy than himself but the people did not think so, and the vote was divided among so many, that the largest vote was a small one. This Sir, is the reason. If, however, he had been sent here by twenty votes, he should consider himself as representing the whole county of Orange. He was born and raised there, and ought to be presumed to know the feelings and wishes of the people.

Mr. S. said, that for the remarks which he had previously submitted on this question, he had been called a bigot; but he imagined that he was about as free from the influence of Priestcraft as any gentleman on that floor. The object of all governments is to secure the happiness of the people; and when the wishes of the people are known, a good government will conform to them. In the British Government, within a few years, how often has the Sovereign himself been compelled to yield to the force of public opinion as a matter of policy. The same results have occurred in France; and elsewhere, the most powerful Sovereigns have bowed with deference to its irresistible influence. It is more operative in this country, and the principle applies with equal force to large or small communities of men.

Sir, said Mr. S. there is no reason why this Article should be amended—there is no emergency which demands it. What persecutions have been attempted, that gentlemen are so excited? He had said nothing in disparagement of Roman Catholics; he had as much respect for some Catholics that he knew, as any member of this Convention. But he was not willing, by expunging

this Article, to let in Turks, Hindoos and Jews. They might call him a bigot as much as they pleased, but he would not consent to this. In what way could we bind them to a proper discharge of their duties, if we should admit them? Must we swear the Turk on the Koran—must we separate the Holy Scriptures, that we may swear the Jew on the Old Testament? If a Turk comes to our country, let him be a Mussulman and enjoy his Religion; but if he thrusts himself into our Civil Compact, he ought to worship as Christians worship. And whatever the gentleman from Craven might think, he could not concur in his latitudinarian doctrines of Religious freedom. As an American citizen, and a native-born son of North Carolina, he was willing that every sect should indulge in their own peculiar species of worship; but he was not willing that they should fill the high places of the land. The rights of men are necessarily restricted. The Minister of the Gospel is precluded from a seat in the Legislature, because policy requires it, and there are various other restraints. No one is eligible to the Legislature who does not possess landed property; a man cannot vote for a Senator, unless he owns a freehold. These are civil rights, as contradistinguished from natural rights; and no man should be branded as a bigot, because he considers *that* Government best, which restrains fewest of the natural rights of men. The right of conscience was a natural right—it did not grow out of the regulations of Society.

The gentleman from Craven had charged the West with holding out false colors to the East as an inducement for them to meet in Convention. The West wanted nothing but sheer right, and if the East have aided them to obtain it, they did so doubtless from correct principles. He never imagined himself, that they were to give a consideration for the vote of the East. He stood perfectly acquitted to himself of the charge of having made any bargain touching the matter. He thought that the discussion would end as it has, and that was one reason why he endeavored to prevent it, in the first instance, by moving to lay the Resolution on the table. It was not true in point of fact, that this was an Eastern and Western question; for so far as he had been enabled to judge from conversation with Eastern gentlemen, they were more unequivocally opposed to an alteration of this Article than the West themselves, who it is said, held out the amend-

ment of this Article as a bait. He did not wish to offer any violence to the understanding which had hitherto existed between the two sections, and regretted that he had to trespass again on the time of the Committee; but having been instructed by an unequivocal expression of public opinion, he felt bound to state the fact.

Mr. S. said he was willing to yield to the voice of the people; and if this was deemed so important a matter, why not submit it to them, as a separate proposition. If they would do it, at the next August Election, his word for it, the question against expunging the Article would be decided by an overwhelming majority. Has it come to this, that the sovereign will of the people shall not rule? And that there shall be no expression of it, because it may come into collision with this body? It was the most Anti-Republican doctrine he ever heard broached, and was certainly one which could not receive the sanction of this Convention.

The question now recurring on the amendment offered by Mr. *Wellborn*, to strike from the Article the word "Protestant," and insert "Christian," it was decided in the affirmative; and the Committee rose and reported the Amendment to the Convention.

THE GENERAL MEETING

The annual general meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society was held at the Catholic Club, New York, on the evening of January 23, 1925, the president, Dr. John G. Coyle, presiding. In his address Dr. Coyle gave a summary of the activities of the Society since the last general meeting, which, he said, were carried on in the undemonstrative but effective manner characteristic of its whole record as the oldest organization of its kind in the country.

The publication committee, Thomas F. Meehan, the Right Rev. Monsignor Joseph F. Delany, D. D., and Henry Ridder, had prepared and issued to the members during the year two volumes; the regular number (Volume XVI) of *RECORDS and STUDIES*, the contents of which was twelve very interesting and valuable historical papers, and the other volume, "The Catholic Church in Virginia, 1815-1822," by the Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday, which was No. VII in the Society's "Monograph Series." This last book has already received the most flattering encomiums from historians and scholars all over the country as one of the most interesting and important contributions to the story of the Church's progress in the United States made in some time. Archbishops Curley and Messmer and Bishops O'Connell and Shahan have been most laudatory of this last production by the Society which brings its list up to twenty-three printed volumes.

The treasurer, Henry Ridder, reported the finances of the Society in the most satisfactory condition, with a substantial amount in the treasury to continue the publication and preservation of American Catholic historical data.

The election of officers for the ensuing year was then held with the following results: President, Percy J. King; vice president, Joseph H. Fargis; recording secretary, Arthur F. G. Rémy; corresponding secretary, Edward K. Hanlon; treasurer, Henry Ridder; librarian, the Right Rev. Joseph F. Delany, D. D.; trustees, the Right Rev. Monsignor James H. McGean, John G. Coyle, M. D., Joseph F. Keany, Thomas F. Meehan, Francis J. Quinlan, M. D., Frederick J. Fuller; councillors, the Right Rev. Monsignor John P. Chidwick, the Rev. Richard H. Tierney, S. J.,

Edward J. McGuire, Martin Conboy, William J. Amend, Arthur Kenedy.

Dr. Coyle read as the historical paper of the meeting an account of the vigorous action taken by Captain John Barry to "count a quorum" for the Constitution Convention at Philadelphia in 1787.

MEETING OF FEBRUARY 2, 1926

The annual meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society was held at the Catholic Club, on the evening of February 2, 1926, and was made the occasion of a splendid tribute to a now little known, but in fact one of the most resplendent figures of the historic past, Judge William Gaston, of South Carolina, the evangelist of Catholic political toleration.

Percy J. King, the president of the Society, was in the chair and in his address of welcome to a very representative audience said:

The activities of the Society since the last public gathering have been directed to the quiet compilation and presentation of our Catholic historical records. The results have been in keeping with the previous successes that have won such public approval. The very valuable volume of the monograph series, Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday's "History of the Catholic Church in Virginia, (1815-1822)," which has generally been accepted as one of the most interesting and instructive of the recent additions to the printed chronicles of the past, has been followed by another of equal perfectness and importance, "The life of Bishop John M. David, and the Founding of the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, Kentucky," by Sister M. Columba Fox of St. Catherine's Academy, Kentucky. Bishop David was one of the heroic pioneers who built up the solid foundations of the Church in the South and Southwest. He was a very remarkable man and had a notable career to which Sister Columba has done full justice.

The Nazareth Sisters which he founded have developed into one of the most flourishing teaching Congregations in the country and one of the most efficient promoters of Catholic education. Other volumes including the paper of this evening and a reprint of Judge Gaston's plea for Toleration are in the course

of preparation by the Publication Committee. The Society feels pride in the record it has made in the number of its published volumes. No other similar organization has done anything in any way equal to it.

The financial standing of the Society is excellent but with greater financial resources the scope of the work could be further extended and the Society welcomes new members, gifts and bequests for its very important work of making a record of the interesting and important phases of Catholic life in the United States.

The Secretary then read the minutes of the last meeting which were approved. The President read in the absence of the Treasurer a statement of the condition of the treasury, which report showed a gratifying balance on hand. An Auditing Committee, consisting of Mr. Kenedy, Mr. Fargis and Mr. Hanlon, were appointed to go over the same and report.

The list of the members who had recently died was presented and a minute made on the records recording the sense of loss which the Society felt in so many of its important members passing away. The list is as follows: Rev. Gerard Huntman, Bishop Louis F. Walsh, Mgr. James J. Flood, Mrs. Joseph T. Ryan, Mgr. John A. Sheppard, Rev. John B. Magrath, Rev. M. J. Murray, Mr. Frank P. Cunnion, Mgr. George Bornemann, Rev. Joseph Woods, S. J., Dr. John B. McCaffrey, Mr. Peter Condon, Michael J. Mulqueen, Mrs. B. Ellen Burke, Hon. Edward E. McCall, Mr. Joseph Gummersbach, Mr. John T. Gibbons, Mgr. John S. Lynch, Mgr. John McCormick, Mr. Nicholas C. Benziger, Mgr. F. H. Wall, Mr. Thomas W. Hynes, Rev. T. F. McGare.

The election of officers then took place and the following were duly chosen after ballot: Honorary President, His Eminence Patrick Cardinal Hayes; president, Percy J. King; vice president, Joseph H. Fargis, LL.D.; treasurer, Henry Ridder; corresponding secretary, Edward K. Hanlon; recording secretary, Arthur F. J. Rémy, Ph.D.; librarian, Rt. Mgr. Joseph F. Delany, D.D.

Trustees: Rt. Rev. Mgr. James H. McGean, LL.D., Joseph F. Keany, Francis J. Quinlan, M.D., Thomas F. Meehan, Frederick J. Fuller, Reverend Brother Thomas.

Councillors: Rt. Rev. Mgr. John P. Chidwick, D.D., Edward

J. McGuire, LL.D., Arthur Kenedy, William J. Amend, Martin Conboy, John G. Coyle, M.D., Rev. Gerald C. Treacy, S.J.

After these formal proceedings the speaker of the evening, the Hon. Edward F. McSweeney, LL.D., of Framingham, Mass., publicist and historian, was introduced and read a paper on "Judge William Gaston: a Pioneer of Toleration." In opening Mr. McSweeney said that on arriving at the club a few hours previously he was surprised and delighted to find waiting him the following letter:

"114 Prospect Street,
"Summit, N. J.,
"Jan. 31, 1926.

HON. EDWARD F. MCSWEENEY:

"Dear Sir: As the only surviving grandchild of Judge William Gaston, I saw, with keen interest, the notice of your coming address at the Catholic Club. Advanced years and invalidness prevent my being one of your audience. Perhaps I am sending 'coals to Newcastle' in mailing, under separate cover, the sketches of Judge Gaston. I was born two years after my grandfather's death, but his eldest daughter, who was my mother, ever strove to perpetuate all memories of his intelligence, learning, excellence, his charming personality and wonderful loveableness.

"In these days of lazy Catholics, it is inspiring to hear of Judge Gaston's journeying by stage coach from Princeton to Philadelphia to go to Confession and Holy Communion, to teach his daughters by his example that 'all Catholics should be familiar with the laws in use by the Church.'

"Mrs. Gaston (Miss Sharpe) mortgaged her home to educate her son and in her letters she constantly reminds him of the sacrifices made for that end.

"If you ever come to this part of New Jersey, it would be a pleasure to show you the picture Mrs. Gaston had taken just after his graduation and taking of Princeton's highest honors when only nineteen years old. I also have his bust by Hughes, a copy of which the family gave to Gaston Hall, Georgetown, to which I, too, sent his watch, his Bible, many books with his bookplate. I possess a picture of his wife, Hannah McClure, the mother of my mother. I should greatly enjoy seeing a copy of

your address. It is a great mission to enable 'the memory of the just' to 'smell sweet.'

Very sincerely yours,

"ISABEL DONALDSON BRONSON."

Mr. McSweeney said he did not know until then that any of Judge Gaston's family had survived and he was sure his audience would share the great pleasure with him such a message brought to them with its memories and lessons of the past.

He then deftly and most entertainingly sketched Judge Gaston's illustrious career.

This paper is printed in full elsewhere in this volume of RECORDS and STUDIES. At its conclusion President King complimented him on its historical interest and the audience enthusiastically gave him a vote of thanks. The proceedings concluded with the usual social hour.

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